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New Republic

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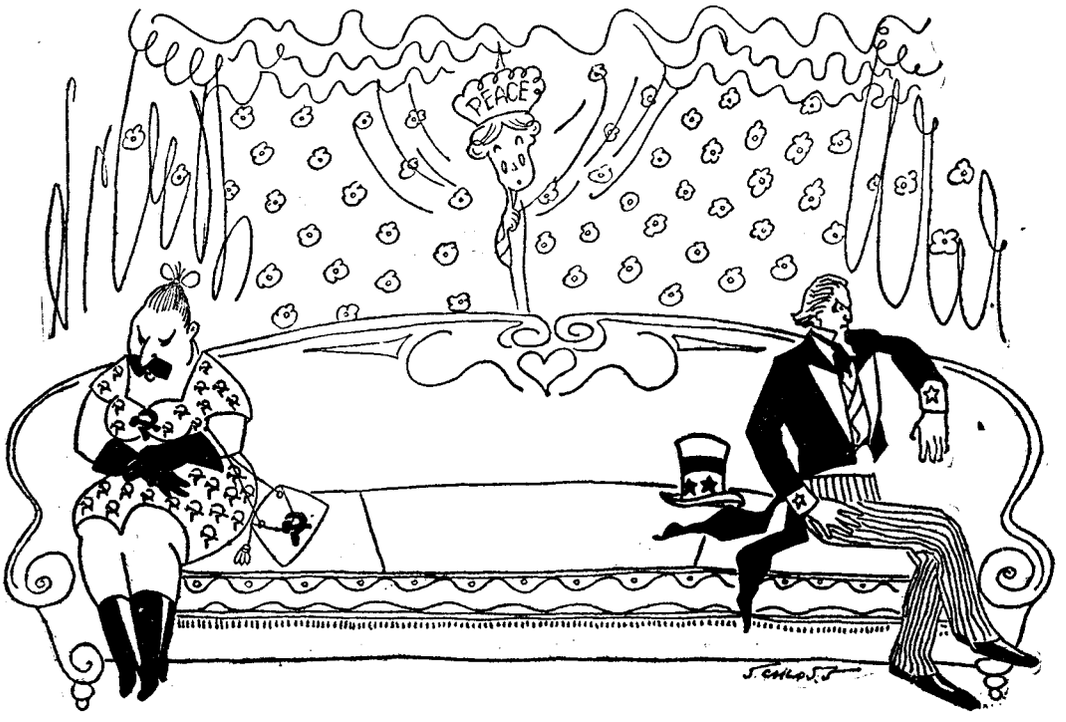

Myth of Labor's Slowdown

By Nathan Robertson

Yugoslavia Today . . . . . *Bogdan Raditsa*

Colorado: Political Hotfoot? . . . . *Ralph G. Martin*

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 115, NO. 10 NEW YORK, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1946 NUMBER 1658

One Year of Peace

ONE YEAR AGO, President Harry Truman in an impromptu address from the White House porch to a crowd celebrating victory over Japan, said: "This is a great day. . . . This is the day when we can start on our real task of implementation of free government in the world."

Last week, any American citizen reading the headlines could note where a year of peace had brought us.

In Greece, an election so completely dominated by Britain and America took place that no one knew how many of the Greeks actually wanted the return of their fascist-minded king. It was an election boycotted by the Left and marked by a display of American naval and aerial power frankly put on for its propaganda value.

At Paris, Britain asked more than $11 billion in reparations from Italy, reparations she did not want and did not expect to get, reparations which were no more than an effort to offset and undercut the Russian claims on Italy.

In Sweden, the United States attempted to balk a bilateral trade agreement between that country and Russia and got slapped down for interfering in something which both those powers seemed to feel was none of our business.

In Spain, Francis Noel Baker, a British MP, found that the Spanish Republicans would gladly endure the hardships of an economic blockade if it would help unseat Franco. He reported that the stock of the Western democracies was rapidly going down among anti-fascist Spaniards who cannot understand our inexplicable tenderness toward Hitler's Spanish ally.

In Moscow, Marshal Stalin issued an order of the day celebrating the victory over Japan and, if the cables quoted him correctly, attributing that victory solely to Russian arms.

In Washington, the chairman of the Senate Immigration Committee announced his opposition to President Truman's proposal to admit a small number of European refugees to the United States.

At Paris, the peace conference marked time with so little accomplished that all over the world people asked themselves whether it would ever succeed in making peace at all.

At Lake Success, the United Nations was equally in the doldrums, blocked in every important action by the bitter, worldwide hostility between Russia and the Anglo-Americans.

In Tokyo, General MacArthur issued a sharp attack on communism and the danger that it might make headway in Japan.

In China, civil war had flamed up again, with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government greatly aided by supplies obtained from the United States.

In Palestine, the British army kept a dubious degree of order, forcibly deporting hundreds of Jewish refugees in a dispute whose most important single factor was the determination of the British and American governments to keep Russian influence in the Middle East at a minimum.

For the same reason, Britain and America were fighting hard against a Russian proposal for joint control of the Dardanelles by the Black Sea powers.

In Washington, Secretary of the Interior Krug announced we shall keep indefinitely, and under military control, Guam, Samoa and the mandated islands we took from Japan. The idea of turning the latter group over to the United Nations seemed to have faded completely out of the picture.

One year of peace.

Progress in India

The appointment of Pandit Nehru to head the new all-Indian Executive Council is evidence of British good faith in trying to settle the Indian question. It is also a good answer to Mohammed Ali Jinnah and his Moslem League, whose "Direct Action Day" demonstration—aimed at preventing the appointment of an interim government—touched off the bloody Calcutta riots. The new Council has the toughest job of all to do—to formulate a constitution that will be acceptable to Moslems as well as Hindus. If a way can be found through the morass of communal conflict to this objective, Nehru's sane, progressive leadership will find it. Already the Moslem League is attacking members of the Council, and Jinnah still demands Pakistan, which

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would mean the dismemberment of India. But his influence may be undermined by the fact that India is rapidly progressing toward independence under Congress Party administration. One thing is sure: The solution can only be found by the Indians themselves. The British have demonstrated that they cannot find it. Their willingness to pass the ball to India's greatest national leader now, despite conditions which would have been used as an excuse for retaining power, is evidence that the Labor Government is realistic—in India, if not in Palestine and elsewhere.

Rent-Control Victory

Price control, which received a bad beating in the halls of Congress, won a major victory last week in the courts. The United States Emergency Court of Appeals ruled unanimously, in a decision of far-reaching significance, that rent ceilings in New York were high enough because they were yielding landlords higher profits than before the war. Thus the court sustained the major premise upon which the OPA and the Administration had tried to get Congress to retain the old price-control law—that despite higher costs profits were greater than before. What the court said in effect was that although costs had risen, this was not sufficient ground for a rent increase when landlords were already making more than in peacetime. It pointed out that profits were larger because of the high occupancy rate and the fact that landlords were not providing the quality of service or maintenance they did before the war.

What the court said of rents is even truer in many respects of prices in general. Volume production makes it possible to absorb additional costs per unit without hurting profits. While it is true that in rents the cost of labor is not such a big factor as in the production and distribution of goods, it also is true that rents have generally been much more rigidly controlled than prices. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that rents have risen only four percent since 1939, while prices on the average have gone up 10 times that much.

The OPA tried to show Congress by actual statistics that rising costs did not necessarily require higher prices. But Congress refused to listen. It voted to increase profits at the expense of the consumer.

Labor's Family Quarrel

The nation's labor leaders are letting their rivalries impede the development of harmonious international relations. In a strictly dog-eat-dog mood, the AFL and the CIO are refusing to agree on any middle ground, or middle person, for labor representation in the International Labor Organization's next conference, opening September 19 in Montreal. Labor Secretary Schwellenbach has proposed a system of alternating representation, the CIO providing the workers' delegate at one conference, the AFL at the next. But the stiff-necked AFL, which has ear-marked such jobs for its own Robert Watt for more than a decade, refuses to concede. The CIO has its own pride, which it refuses to sacrifice.

The Montreal conference has important work to do in integrating the ILO with the United Nations; in selecting a permanent seat and a Director-General; and in developing a World Children's Charter that will mean life and hope to millions. Here is a world organization in which our best labor leaders should be present, with their best foot forward; where United States labor in person can impress the labor leaders of other countries that it is fighting for international progress and peace. But because of jealousy and prestige, one-half of United States labor at the most will be represented. And not by a Murray or a Green. Probably by a second or third-string leader.

Patterson on Atomic Warfare

In the firm conviction that atomic energy, like the automobile and the Brooklyn Dodgers, is here to stay, the War Department is giving its top men some of the atomic facts of life. In a series of eight restricted lectures, the members of the general staff and other high echelons are learning as much about atomic energy as anyone can hope to learn in eight hours.

All of which may be a good thing, of course, except that at the opening lecture, Secretary of War Patterson set forth a dangerous guiding principle under the guise of military realism.

"Those responsible for the defense of the nation," he said, "must make their plans on the basis that there is, and will be, no adequate control on the international level."

We assume that Mr. Baruch and Mr. Gromyko received a complete fill-in on the Secretary's remarks. If they did, the comfort they derived must be no larger than an atom of U-235.

On-the-Job Training

Drastic changes in the veterans' "on-the-job" training program, brought about by Senate bill 2477, which slipped through Congress at the end of last session, have recently been subject to severe criticism by both labor and veterans. Meant to curb widespread chiseling by employers, the bill seriously threatens the living standards of some 400,527 trainees by placing a ceiling on their earnings under the program.

Although some of the provisions of the law are considered good in that they set up guarantees of effective training standards, there are two particularly objectionable changes. 1. The veteran, rather than the employer, is punished when the employer engages

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in "chiseling." If the employer is found guilty of such practices under training-program set-ups, the law provides that the subsistence payments of the veteran be canceled. 2. The new law limits on-the-job training to a period of two years. Since most approved courses of skilled training are set up for three years or more, this defeats the original purpose of the program.

The Veterans' Administration has estimated that it will take three months to put the new program into operation. By that time the Eightieth Congress will be in session and veterans' groups have already planned their line of attack. They want the next Congress either to remove or to raise the "ceilings" on salaries ($175 a month for single men, $200 for married). They also want the two-year training period extended.

The Freight-Car Shortage

The Interstate Commerce Commission has once again allowed the railroads to endanger the national interest. Much of the blame also attaches to J. Monroe Johnson, Director of the Office of Defense Transportation, who has rarely been known to do anything the railroad industry didn't want him to do. The result of the failure either of the ICC or Johnson to move in time is that the country now faces a shortage of freight cars that may seriously cripple employment and production. Johnson himself now admits that we are in a "terrible fix" and facing the worst transportation crisis in 20 years. He is forecasting that industrial plants will have to close down when they have filled their storage facilities. But he and the ICC could have avoided much of the trouble if they had not been so reluctant to put the public interest ahead of that of the railroads.

The freight-car shortage has been foreseen for a long time. But Johnson failed to use his power to force the railroads to use more efficiently the cars they have. Belatedly, he is now planning such an order. He also has asked the ICC to investigate the shortage, although the ICC has helped contribute to it by permitting the railroads to wage unfair competition with the coastal shipping lines, thereby diverting traffic from seaways to the crowded rail lines. With the ICC's permission, the rail carriers have been permitted to offer cheaper rates on lines competing with the coast ships, making up the difference by higher charges over the rest of the country. Some rail rates are even lower than water rates, although it is cheaper to ship by water.

Last March the War Shipping Administration asked the ICC to review the rail rates of lines which compete with the water carriers. After four months of delay, the ICC decided to hold hearings. They don't begin for another month. The ICC is also believed to have been caught short by the railroads on the matter of freight rates. The roads are pleading poverty and asking for a general freight-rate increase. They have refrained from buying as many new freight cars as they need, claiming they require more revenue before buying the equipment.

"Worse Than Any Sabotage"

In its fifth annual report, the Mead Committee wrote the final chapter of the sad history of the Canol oil project in Alaska. It was a bitter condemnation of the part played by Admiral Ernest King and General Brehon Somervell. Somervell was held primarily responsible for the project on which $133 million was spent, one that represents a huge investment of vital manpower and materials, but has produced less than four tankers of oil. Commenting that a single tanker could have delivered 12 times as much oil to Alaska as was obtained from the Canol project, the committee said:

"The detriment to the war effort from the resulting waste in manpower and materials was greater than any act of sabotage by the enemy which has been disclosed."

Admiral King was caustically criticized for using the claim of military secrecy to support Somervell on the project during the war when the committee was trying to stop the costly project. The Mead Committee said:

> Admiral King was an able officer whose services were of great value to the nation, but after examination of all the facts relating to the Canol project, the committee has been forced to the conclusion that he, as a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, differed with the official position of the Navy as expressed by the Secretary of the Navy, and used the high office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the claim of military secrecy for the purpose of preventing the Congress and the people from requiring the discontinuance of a costly blunder by a fellow officer who was unwilling to admit his mistake and who was stubbornly insistent upon completing a project regardless of the cost in manpower and critical materials.

The committee took a mild view of Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson's defense of the Canol project, asserting he had undoubtedly relied upon General Somervell and Admiral King.

Anderson Lifts the Lid

All the government's efforts to stabilize prices were seriously upset last week by the action of the Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton P. Anderson.

Until Anderson stepped in and ordered new price ceilings that will legalize a substantial part of the meat-price inflation of the last two months, there was a narrow chance that some kind of stabilization still might be achieved. There was just a chance after the Price Decontrol Board ordered new ceilings and provided subsidies for a roll-back, that meat prices might be lowered enough to offset some of the increases that had to be made under the new price-control law.

What Anderson did to meat prices can best be

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judged by a few figures and comparisons. When price control lapsed on June 30, the ceiling price on hogs was $14.75. Paul Porter, head of the OPA, urged that it was important to return to that price, or as close to it as the law would allow. Some adjustments required under parity and the dropping of the feeder subsidy would have run the price up to about $15.50. Mr. Anderson set the price at $16.25, doubling the increase that was necessary.

On cattle, the overriding ceiling had been $18. An increase of $1.25 was required to comply with the law, but the OPA insisted that there was no reason to raise the price any higher. Anderson, however, completely disregarded this contention and set the new ceiling at $20.25—one dollar higher than it had to be.

Although the new retail prices have not yet been worked out, it is expected that Anderson's generosity to livestock producers will add about six cents a pound to the former retail beef ceilings, about three cents to the June 30 pork prices and about eight cents to previous lamb ceilings. Thus a Porterhouse Grade AA steak, which may be selling now for about 69 cents a pound, may be rolled back to about 62 cents a pound. The former top was 56 cents.

The Secretary argued that it was necessary to increase the former ceilings to encourage production and avoid a meat shortage next winter. He said the June 30 ceilings would have made feeding an unattractive proposition to corn-belt farmers. Only a few months before, Anderson was talking about holding down meat production in order to conserve grain for a hungry world. The feeders and all the other powerful agricultural interests which always had trouble with the OPA seem to be able to convince the Secretary of Agriculture. Since the Secretary is now the boss, the food forecast clearly is: fatter prices for producers and higher prices for the consumer.

The Secretary's action hit the OPA and Washington generally like a flash explosion. Under the Price Control Act, it was clear that the OPA was to set any new ceilings authorized by the Decontrol Board. Price discussions were being held with Anderson, but the OPA was going ahead. The printing of new price lists, fixing the new ceilings at the June 30 level plus legally required increases, had been started. However, Anderson threatened that if the OPA set the ceilings proposed, he would raise them under his power to increase any price which he though would impede production. This brought about an impasse which was referred for settlement to John R. Steelman, head of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

On the very day a ruling was expected from Steelman, Anderson suddenly ran away with the show. He ordered the OPA to put into effect the high prices he wanted. None of the officials involved would talk, but the question at once arose whether the Secretary was trying a force play on the President. Obviously, if Anderson had his prices in operation, it would be very embarrassing for the President to make him recede. Short of firing the Secretary, who is in high favor with Congress, the President's hands would have been tied.

Another Slap on the Wrist

A nation which reacted so violently to the slapping of a single soldier by battle-worn General Patton must be shocked at the slap-on-the-wrist penalty administered to Colonel James A. Kilian, former commander of the Army's replacement depot at Lichfield, England, for letting guards hit American soldier-prisoners with clubs. Though found guilty, Kilian was let off with a $500 fine and a reprimand which doesn't even affect his place on the promotion list. Two of the enlisted men previously convicted of brutality were sent to jail.

This kind of treatment for officers fits in with the Mead Committee's latest annual report, made public over last weekend, which noted "frequent instances of outstanding rewards" given officers for "incompetence." It cited particularly a colonel in the Engineer Corps "who had so badly mismanaged the only source of replacement parts for engineers' equipment in the world that the War Department had to send in a special team to clean up the depot."

The Mead Committee demanded that the Army and Navy devise a personnel system "which will reward the alert, the intelligent and the farsighted, and punish the careless, the stupid and the wasteful." It said the evidence indicated that neither service had operated on such a basis.

Fat Profits on Milk

The "consumer coöperation and understanding" requested by the Milk Industry Foundation following the removal of ceilings on dairy products (the *New Republic,* September 2) will not be strengthened by the semi-annual statement of the Borden Company released this week. Estimated Borden profits for the first six months of 1946—before the OPA ceilings were removed—were $8,875,000, compared with $5,875,000 for the same period in 1945.

Added to increased middleman profits is the fact that OPA officials estimate that farmers are receiving just about the same amount for their milk as they did under OPA ceilings. Under June 30 prices plus subsidy, milk varied from 50 to 80 cents per hundredweight. A one-cent increase without the subsidy puts the price at 46 cents per hundredweight, 40 of which the farmer gets. A two-cent increase raises the price to 92 cents, with 80 cents for the farmer. In other words, a two-cent increase on milk doubles the income to the distributor—from 6 to 12 cents—without helping the farmer.

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The OPA and the Black Market

SINCE the new Price-Decontrol Board went into action, the OPA enforcement branch has almost doubled its personnel. By October it expects to reach a manpower peak of 9,000 persons.

In the past, the enforcement officers have averaged about 150,000 investigations a year, 70 percent of which disclosed violations of price-control laws. At any given time there are at least 20,000 cases pending federal or state action. The success of the enforcement branch is evident in the total amount of money collected on treble-damage suits for overcharges and fines filed against black-market operations. Last year, $21 million in fines went into the United States Treasury. This year, the total is expected to reach $24 million—more than it costs the government to run the OPA.

Not only has the personnel of the enforcement branch been strengthened, but also the amount of money to carry out its police duties. The OPA found that one of the most effective anti-black-market techniques was to involve its own agents in illegal dealings. The fund for such test purchases has recently been increased from $100,000 to $300,000, and there are indications that this amount may be supplemented by industries interested in curbing the black-market operations in their own commodities.

Meat

A heavy enforcement-branch program has been aimed at the black market in meat. Twenty-five hundred investigators are being assigned to meat violations, with heavy emphasis on the live-cattle market. Sixty-five percent of all meat is slaughtered by 25 firms. This heavy concentration makes policing possible.

The OPA has averaged 5,000 cases a year on pre-retail meat violations. The investigators have often traced illegal dealings by starting with the retailer who has overcharged a customer. Faced with heavy penalties, the retailer is forced to reveal the wholesaler who overcharged him. And so the investigator can follow the trail of violation until he gets to the source. The government has a powerful instrument to control black-market activities at the packer level. It can refuse to grant subsidies to dealers who over-buy, over-slaughter or sell above ceiling prices. Last week the OPA restored slaughtering controls in the meat industry and took full jurisdiction over both federally and non-federally inspected plants. This new step will provide a check on the source of all meat, since each slaughterer is required to mark his product.

Black marketeers have flourished by diverting meat from the consumer market and selling primarily to night clubs and restaurants. Because of this, the enforcement branch may be forced to issue strong limitations on the amount such establishments may buy.

Automobiles

The enforcement officers are concentrating on both used and new-car dealers. The OPA estimates that automobiles are changing hands at a rate of about 4,500,000 a year. And 25 percent of these cars—at least one million—are sold above ceiling, with overcharges ranging from $100 to more than $1,000.

Investigators have filed an average of 400 violation reports a month and the recent rise in illegal car sales has resulted in a 50-percent increase in the staff. The most common overcharges are made by dealers receiving side payments, either paying less for used-car trade-ins or requiring a trade-in on the sale of a new car. Others have violated price-control laws by requiring a customer who offers cash payment to pay by instalments, with a heavy financing charge.

Recently, the enforcement officers have uncovered black-market activities by new-car dealers who sell at ceiling price to used-car lots and then split the profit when the used-car dealer sells above ceiling.

Lumber

With double the number of investigators, the OPA has launched a drive against the heart of the lumber black market, using criminal prosecutions, treble-damage suits and injunctions.

There are two major forms of black-market operation in lumber: 1. Truckers buy lumber directly from mills in producing areas, paying whatever price is demanded. No invoices are given; they transport the lumber to a good selling area and peddle it to the highest bidder, either yard or contractor. 2. Outside buyers purchase directly from the mills, using fake invoices to cover up an illegal price. This is accomplished by falsely upgrading lumber or by side payments.

The OPA's mass filing of suits against illegal lumber dealers includes treble-damage actions totaling more than $9 million and involving 65 million board feet of lumber—enough to construct about 6,500 average-size homes for veterans. To stop many such violations, the enforcement branch has instituted a "road-block technique." This is used on the fringes of major producing areas, where the investigators, coöperating with local officials, stop and inspect trucks carrying lumber. The investigation of truckers' sales slips and other documents has helped to curb lumber violations.

No enforcement staff, no matter how large, could completely halt black-market activity in these three major fields of price-control violation. Nor can they adequately cover illegal dealings in nylon, clothing, textiles and rent. But by concentrating on the big operators, they are protecting millions of consumers from the black-market racket.

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Washington Wire—A Nice Holiday

PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN, a well meaning man who does as well as he knows how, returned this week, and summer ended. Waiting on his desk Truman found the accumulated problems of peace.

Abroad, things go badly. That, in general, means Russia. A lot of Americans hate Russia; a lot more want to be friends but can't figure out how. Things got worse on that front in Truman's absence.

Things are not very bright at home, either. The effort to avert the coming slump has about been dropped. Now the question is, when will it come? Nations that kept economic controls avoided inflation; we scuttled ours and are taking the consequences. Truman could have tried harder to hold the controls, but it is doubtful that Congress would have let him. Even under Bowles, the OPA obviously couldn't do the job. Now, in its extended, devitalized form, it is merely a mechanism for decontrol. The Anderson-Porter controversy over meat prices emphasizes the point.

Advance copies of inspirational Labor Day speeches piled up all last week. We turned intuitively to that of J. Howard Pew, president of the Sun Oil Company. His article was nice and short and was called "Labor's Stake in Freedom." For some reason people call Pew anti-labor. One discovers what a canard this is by reading his annual message. Nowhere does he better show himself labor's friend than by his willingness to give it advice. He warns against the insidious OPA. Furthermore, he justly observes there are too many "scurrilous attacks" going around these days. Pew is a good writer but a mite incoherent. His sentences start well but something happens to them. It appears that he can't keep his thoughts off some man called Roosevelt, who appears to be dead. He thinks of Roosevelt and his bearings overheat. These scurrilous attacks now, they're chiefly the fault of "certain self-styled 'liberals'." Yes, it's all "innuendoes, distortions, half-truths and just plain lies." Who started it? Why, says Pew, it was started "since the beginning of the New Deal, by labor agitators generally, by pink-tinted bureaucrats, and even by certain past and present government officials of extraordinarily high rank."

Yes, Pew says . . . but there, who is conducting this column anyway—Pew or T. R. B.? Yes, friends, Labor Day passed off as usual and all the Pews gave labor their advice, and it was a nice holiday anyway.

Most exciting reading recently was the pink, paper-bound Department of Agriculture pamphlet called "Changes in Farming in War and Peace," written by Sherman E. Johnson of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. This tells of the amazing technological revolution on the American farm, a revolution that made it possible to feed the armies and our allies while giving civilians an all-time-record food standard. Here are some items: there are two million tractors on farms. Since tractors don't eat hay, this has freed 50 million acres of cropland previously needed just to support displaced horses and mules. While production bounded forward, farm population between 1940 and 1944 sank by five million, to a total of 25 million. As farms are mechanized the farmer needs more capital and more land; in other words, successful farming as the retreat for the little man seems on its way out. The mechanical cotton-picker is about to create a social upheaval in the South. The technological revolution can't be reversed, and the super-duper productivity of American farms makes the farmer, inferentially, the most vulnerable of all exposed groups in the forthcoming slump. Johnson doesn't quite say so, but every fact he adduces indicates that federal controls to protect the farmer are simply inevitable. The farmers are going to need some form of what Johnson calls federal "income insurance" in depression years, equivalent to city workers' minimum wages and unemployment insurance. Curiously enough, it may ultimately be the conservative farmers, not the industrial workers, who push America toward planned economy when the great American inflation roller-coaster starts the trip down. They are in the front seat.

I don't know how the sweetness-and-light *Reader's Digest* managed to print such a stinging commentary on modern Americanism as its condensation of "The Hucksters" in this issue, but if you want to find a good critique of commercial radio, read about Evan Llewelyn Evans. The FCC, sparked on by Clifford Durr, is timidly trying to do something about such matters now. Friends who have read the whole book tell me the *Digest* has amusingly left out the sex from "The Hucksters," but it makes its point just the same in the bowdlerized version. To throw in my own statistics, four networks have 95 percent of all night-time broadcasting power; 144 advertisers account for 97 percent of all network incomes; and 11 advertisers account for 50 percent of network income. These figures have been set forth before, and now the disgusting character of soap-king Evans, the man who spits on the table to emphasize his point and dictates what millions of Americans shall hear, clothes the statistics in lively emotional loathing.

Brilliant war correspondent John Hersey, in the *New Yorker*, has put into simple, emotional terms the awful story of Hiroshima, where a third of a great city's population was wiped out in the blinding flash of one atom bomb. Psychologists could argue that America's fascination with the bomb springs partly from a guilt complex. We were the nation that released this horror—not on an uninhabited island but on a teeming city, and followed it up on Nagasaki before Japan could surrender. For all the future centuries to come, history will say—if there is anybody left to write history—that America used The Bomb first.

Washington T. R. B.

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Political Roundup—Campaign Overture

THE PROGRESSIVE political-action organizations are lined up at the starting gate along with the party professionals for what will be their first off-year election race. The disastrous 1942 congressional elections, in which the Democrats lost 47 seats, occurred before the CIO-PAC was born. This fall, for the first time in 16 years, there are no Roosevelt coattails on which liberals can catch a hitch. Like the old-timers, PAC-ers have spent August getting in condition and will start their big sprint in mid-September.

On September 12, Henry Wallace and Claude Pepper will share the stage at Madison Square Garden to open the New York campaign under the joint auspices of the National Citizens' PAC and the Independent Citizens' Committee. Pepper will come there from a West Coast campaign swing. Wallace will start out from there on a series of speaking dates that will take him into all the key states and most of the critical congressional districts in the country. Wallace will repeat the nationwide stumping tour on behalf of progressive candidates which he made in 1944.

Liberal Rally.—Watch for announcement of a national political-action rally which the big three organizations (CIO-PAC, NCPAC and ICC) are expected to call toward the end of this month. Purpose: Get out the vote in November; learn to work together; bury bureaucratic tendencies among the hired help of all three.

Meantime around the country:

California.—James Roosevelt has moved fast since being elected Democratic State Chairman. His headquarters is organized and operating smoothly; his executive committee is much impressed by his methods, certain that they will carry the state in November if they can lick the perpetual problem in progressive politics: funds. Under Roosevelt, the Democratic Women's Division, especially important in this off-year campaign, has been revitalized and is leading the all-important get-out-the-vote drive, enlisting volunteer workers and trying to build the largest possible voter registration. The Democrats have a 750,000 *majority* of registered voters. If they can get them out on November 5, they can elect Will Rogers Jr. to the Senate, return their fine Democratic delegation to Congress and defeat Republican Representatives Hinshaw, Gearhart and Phillips.

Massachusetts.—Martha Sharp is being conceded an increasingly good chance to unseat Republican House Leader Joe Martin in the 14th District. Glamorous Mrs. Sharp is a wonderful campaigner. She speaks to the French and Portuguese, who are numerous in her district, in their own languages, can give them straight facts from her European relief experience during the war about what their relatives back home are up against. Joe Martin's majority in 1944 was 30,000 votes; he is worried about 1946.

Minnesota.—The Democratic-Farm-Labor Executive Committee has selected Roy T. Weir, an AFL leader, as its nominee for Congress from the 3rd District, in place of the late Representative William Gallagher. He will have tough going against the Republican nominee, George McKinnon, Minneapolis attorney, who will have the advantage of Governor Thye's assistance in carrying the county outside of Minneapolis proper.

Ohio.—Another real-life example that there-is-more-to-your-congressman-than-you-read-in-the-record: Voters in the 16th District of Ohio should know, if they don't, that the GOP candidate Henderson F. Carson (1) has been counsel to the Pennsylvania Railroad for about 20 years; (2) represents many other large utility and manufacturing industries; (3) is being served for campaign purposes now by a pensioner of the Timkin Roller Bearing Corporation; (4) was shown by the La Follette Committee report (Part 32) to have recruited volunteers for a "law-and-order" group directed against the Little Steel strike.

Investigating the Campaign.—The Republican drive to capture control of the Senate and House committees which are investigating campaign expenditures, in order to smear the PAC, has stalled. Speaker Rayburn refused to be intimidated when Leo Allen (R, Ill.) resigned from the House committee on the ground that Chairman Emmet O'Neal (D, Ky.) was using the committee to whitewash the PAC. Instead, when O'Neal had to resign to attend to his own campaign, Rayburn named one of the fairest men in the house, Percy Priest (D, Tenn.), in his place. There will be no witch-hunt while Priest is in charge.

Senator Ellender (D, La.) is trying to make up for the damage his committee's reputation suffered under the acting chairmanship of Senator Ed Johnson while he was away. Ellender is scheduling belated hearings on charges which Ross Collins, who ran against Bilbo last month, has brought concerning the conduct of the Mississippi senatorial primaries. Ned Carmack, whom the Crump machine stopped from unseating Senator Kenneth McKellar, is said to be planning to follow Collins' lead.

West Virginia.—Democrats here are confident that in addition to returning Senator Harley Kilgore in November, they will gain the 4th District seat now held by Republican Representative Hubert Ellis. M. G. Burnside, professor of Political Science at Marshall College in Huntington, is the Democratic nominee. The AFL and the CIO have formed an effective joint-political-action committee.

Idaho.—Senator Glen Taylor has made himself one of the most significant national figures in the liberal movement in only two years' time. It is good to see that he has not lost his sense of proportion in the process. Invitations have recently been pouring into Taylor's office to speak for campaigns and good causes all over the country, many of them for sizable fees which Taylor has frankly admitted that he needs. He is turning them down and devoting himself to full-time campaigning for his friend George Donert for the Senate against the reactionary Republican, Representative Henry Dworshak. Taylor is also working for a promising young liberal, Pete Leguineche.

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The Myth of Labor's Slow-Down

by Nathan Robertson

INDUSTRY and its press parrots are engaged in a major propaganda campaign to convince the country that labor is to blame for inflation because wages have outstripped productivity. Higher prices are being forced, they claim, because of these "inflationary" wage increases.

The figures used in their campaign are designed to show that while wages are far higher than before the war, worker productivity is about the same, and in many cases much lower. The unmistakable implication is that labor is loafing on the job. That is industry's alibi, not only for higher prices, but also for the failure to produce automobiles and other heavy goods as fast as had been expected. The campaign is designed to justify price increases and also to block any new demands for wage increases.

David Lawrence's *United States News* has put it this way:

> The welfare of the American worker now is to depend on how well he works. Industry has reached the point where higher wages cannot be paid unless workers produce more during each hour that they spend at bench or lathe. . . . The near-term outlook, in fact, is for some decline in workers' "real earnings" as prices rise to overtake increased costs, as profit margins tend to return more nearly to their prewar levels.

The *News* backed up this conclusion by citing statistics to prove that from 1939 to 1945, hourly wages jumped 54.5 percent, while productivity rose only 6.5 percent.

Using the same figures, a widely read Washington newsletter has said flatly that inflation was caused by high wages without increased productivity and that the output of workers per man-hour was lower than before the war. It claimed productivity in the auto industry was down to half of prewar because of workers' inefficiency. Even the unions recognize, it said, that "only better work can justify more pay."

This argument, which has been made in many other places, is completely unfounded. Productivity is not a measure of the energy or efficiency of the worker. Official figures show that for a long period in the past, worker productivity has doubled every 20 years. Is this because workers are twice as efficient, or work twice as hard? Obviously not. The real answer is that productivity is a measure not only of the energy and skill put into the job by the worker, but even more important, of the skill of management, the efficiency of the tools provided the workers and the over-all rate of production at which industry is performing.

Bureau of Labor Statistics experts believe these latter factors are the most important. They say productivity can be measured in advance by the amount of money spent by industry in providing new and better machinery. It varies tremendously with the rate of production at which a plant is working. If the plant is working at capacity, the productivity of the workers is high; if the plant is working part-time, individual productivity is low.

Worker effort also figures to some extent, of course. But by and large the American worker wants to work if he is given a chance. Where worker effort is low, it usually is at least partly the fault of management for providing bad working conditions or for failing to maintain decent labor relations.

But even if productivity were a measure solely of worker effort, the figures being used by industry's propagandists and others would present a false picture. The government has abandoned efforts to measure worker productivity for industry as a whole since before the war, because it could not be measured. There are no worthwhile over-all statistics.

WHERE THE FIGURES COME FROM

The figures the propagandists are citing are selected figures compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to measure productivity in the broader sense, not in the sense of worker effort, *in a few industries which continued to produce the same things during the war as before the war.*

These figures mean nothing when applied to industry as a whole, or even to the particular industries studied, as of today. These were the peacetime industries that during the war were starved for manpower and machinery, and in many cases were producing at very low levels because of the shortage of materials or workers.

Included in this special study were such industries as basic lumber products, tobacco, printing and publishing, cement, textiles, coal, chemicals, stone, clay and glass. Production declined in several of these industries such as clay and cement because of restrictions on wartime construction. New machinery was not available for most of them, so that by the end of the war many

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Nathan Robertson, for many years a leading Washington newspaperman, winner of the Heywood Broun memorial award in 1944, recently resigned from the Washington staff of PM. *He is now an associate editor of the* New Republic.

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of them had worn-out plants. Only the left-over workers—the very young and the very old—were available for some of them. Materials were diverted to the war industries. A sharp drop in productivity would not have been surprising under these conditions.

All of these factors are now eliminated. The figures are therefore meaningless not only when applied to industry as a whole, but even when applied to the industries in question.

On the other hand, there is much evidence that in the war industries, which were better able to get machinery and manpower, productivity made amazing gains during the war which should be reflected in peacetime productivity. In the production of Liberty ships it rose 120 percent; in the manufacture of airplanes it jumped 160 percent in three years—a greater increase than the automobile industry realized in the 20-year period from 1919-39, its greatest period of development.

In view of these figures, government experts do not believe the reports that labor productivity is lower today than before the war. In fact they are confident that when the reconversion industries get into full production, the figures will show an unusually rapid rise in productivity.

They base this forecast on these facts:

Productivity has shown a steady and general increase in this country for many years in virtually every industry. Between 1909 and 1939 it rose an average of three to 3.5 percent a year, sparked by such revolutionary new methods as machine manufacture of cigars; the development of production lines in the mass-production industries; and the introduction of the continuous-strip mill in the steel industry. During this period productivity quadrupled in rayon; tripled in the manufacture of industrial chemicals; rose 180 percent in automobiles, 290 percent in petroleum refining and 325 percent in the manufacture of tires and tubes.

Even in the industries which showed little increase in productivity during the war, or showed a loss, there have been rapid increases since the end of the war and since more normal conditions have been restored. In 11 of these industries productivity has risen fast enough in the past year to outbalance wage increases during that period.

New Plant and Equipment

Expenditures by industry for new plant and equipment which is the biggest factor in productivity are now at a record-breaking level. The greatest expenditures are in the industries which could not get equipment during the war, such as textiles; apparel and leather; pulp, paper and printing; transportation equipment; automobiles; and machinery manufacture.

Despite the handicaps of war, many large industries showed important gains in productivity during the period from 1939-45. Productivity in mining rose 18 percent; in the extraction of crude petroleum and natural gas, 28 percent; in the mining of copper 15 percent, although much of this production was in mines where it is difficult to get the ore; in railroad transportation 48 percent.

Reports of low productivity are coming from the industries which have not yet reached full production, such as automobiles, where mass production is held back by material bottlenecks, poor labor relations and, to some extent, strikes in suppliers' plants. Because of these difficulties, most of these plants are not yet working full time.

During this temporary period it doesn't make sense to compare wages with productivity any more than it does to relate prices to costs. An entrepreneur, just getting into production, cannot recover immediately the cost of the first products he turns out. Probably the first Ford produced after the war cost hundreds of thousands of dollars to make and productivity probably was close to zero when measured by the man-hours of work put into the car. But gradually, as production levels rise, productivity and costs balance out.

Wage-Price Policy for Full Employment

If we are heading for the full-employment economy to which the Truman Administration is pledged, prices must be placed at a level that will be fair when production has reached high levels. Wages must be handled in the same way. Losses to manufacturers, meanwhile, will be met by tax refunds and future profits.

With the efficiency and productivity that is expected in the automobile industry once this level of production is reached, it will be possible for the manufacturers to sell at a low price, pay high wages and still make more money than ever before.

Industry is talking about productivity in an effort to beat down wages, and suggesting linking wages to productivity. Labor would do well to take it up on that proposition, for it will soon talk the other way.

After the last war productivity jumped 107 percent in 20 years. In other words, the workers in 1939 were turning out more than twice as much as they had in 1919 for every hour of work. But during this period wage rates did not go up with productivity. They rose only 28 percent, so that by 1939 unit labor costs were 44 percent below 1919. Although prices dropped somewhat during this period, by 1939 the average worker was turning out twice as much work, but living only half again as well as he did 20 years earlier.

With unit labor costs down as low as they were at the start of the war, industry can afford to pay much higher wages today than in the prewar period and to continue to raise wages as productivity rises. If it does not do this, there will not be enough purchasing power to absorb the products of industry at full production and the country will head into another deep depression.

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Yugoslavia Today

by Bogdan Raditsa

EARLY IN 1942 some of us Yugoslavs in exile in the United States learned that in the town of Bihac, in Yugoslavia, the National Liberation Movement had proclaimed "the independence and truly democratic rights and liberties of all peoples" in a free and democratic federated Yugoslav state. We gave our support to Tito and his Partisans because we thought that finally the democratic aspirations of the Southern Slavs would be realized.

I was at the time chief of the information services of the Royal Yugoslav Government-in-Exile in America. After long wishing a democratic change in that government and being discouraged, I had no other alternative but to inform the American public of the new developments in Yugoslavia through the liberal press. I resigned my official position in the Government-in-Exile and acknowledged the new Yugoslavia.

When, in the summer of 1944, the Subasich government was formed in London and came to an agreement with Tito, I was invited to return to my country, as were all of the small group of liberal democrats who had sought to bring about precisely this change which now was a reality. I left America in November, 1944, and after the merger of the Subasich government with Tito's National Committee a few months later, went back to Yugoslavia. I was made chief of the foreign press department in the new coalition government's Ministry of Information. I held that position until I left the country in late 1945.

During my stay I had ample opportunity to observe, in the course of my duties, travels throughout the country and conversations with persons high and low, the working of the Tito regime. I have tried to report my observations as accurately and objectively as possible. I am now addressing myself again to the American public, as I did three years ago, not because I have any personal axe to grind, but because I want to tell the truth.

It is not my intention to muddy the waters between the United States and Yugoslavia. On the contrary, I am writing because I wish this country to exert its influence in favor of the democratic-minded peoples of Yugoslavia who have endured enormous sacrifices in their battle for freedom. In this battle they were greatly encouraged by the people of America and their great President Roosevelt, whose name is cherished today throughout Yugoslavia. The peoples of Yugoslavia are deeply indebted to the United States for the unlimited help which was given to the Partisans during the war. And after the war American relief saved Yugoslavia from famine and despair. In writing this article I hope to show that the peoples of Yugoslavia have nothing in common with the aggressive policy of the Tito government. To understand this policy, it is important to know the role which the Communist Party plays in that government.

THE TITO GOVERNMENT

I first noticed in Dalmatia, and later in the whole of Yugoslavia, how true it is that political power does not rest with the people's elected representatives, but with the Political Bureau of the Communist Party and OZNA, the secret police. Of course, the Communists everywhere seek to conceal this fact by the use of slogans—"people," "democracy," "federalism" or "republic"—which cover everything, even the secret police.

The real power in the country is the "Big Seven," all members of the CP: Josip Broz Tito, Edward Kardelj, Mosha Pijade, Milovan Gjilas, Sreten Zujevic-Crni, Aleksander Rankovic and Boris Kidric. Tito is still a great mystery to most Yugoslavs. Party propaganda has failed, so far, to build him up as the son of the people. His embroidered uniform and golden stars do not impress the peasants of Serbia and Croatia. He is too scientifically political for the peoples of Yugoslavia, accustomed to the caustic silence of the Serbian conservative, Nicola Pasic, or the flowery speech of the Croatian revolutionary, Stephan Radic.

I shall never forget Tito's first official public appearance at last year's May Day parade. With a galaxy of generals and colonels, he stood on the reviewing stand for five hours, smiling at the thousands of soldiers, government employees, workers and school boys who passed by to the sound of Ti-to, Ti-to, Ti-to. I remembered with pain Mussolini's early appearances in Rome. Later on I learned that orders had been given to the participants in the parade to show "sincere enthusiasm" in gratitude to Tito.

In addition to the "Big Seven," there is a whole army of Communist first, second and third-class "guides." The first class includes the prime ministers of the six federal republics. Nevertheless, as party brain-trusters have recognized, the Communist Party does not have as yet enough cadres, enough capable men, for key positions. Hence the communization of the country has been relatively slow. The lack of

This is the first of two articles by Mr. Raditsa. The second, describing the attitude of the peasants toward the Tito regime and its foreign policy, will appear in an early issue. Mr. Raditsa tells his personal history in the introduction to this article.

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skilled administrators appears in the amateurish mismanagement of some of the new state enterprises.

This may be illustrated by the case of DASP, an organization created to transport stores landed at Adriatic ports into the interior, using 1,800 UNRRA trucks. After a two-week driving course, unskilled operators were given the task of riding the heavy vehicles over difficult and often impassable mountain roads, with the result that in six months half the trucks were a total loss. It took the authorities an equal length of time to realize what was going on, and they evaded blame by trying the helpless drivers as saboteurs.

The New Constitution

Yugoslavia's new constitution is a model of liberalism. Sovereignty resides in the will of the people and is theoretically vested in the Presidium, consisting of a President, six Vice Presidents—one for each constituent republic—and 30 members. Dr. Ivan Ribar, the democratic leader, is still the fictitious head, but the real boss is Mosha Pijade, the Communist brain-truster.

There are, of course, paper guarantees of freedom of speech, assembly and religion. But in fact, the people are afraid to talk. No opposition press exists. In the preëlection period an opposition paper, *Demokratija*, published by Milan Grol, was temporarily permitted to appear, but when it became popular it was suppressed. The same happened to *Novosti*, published by Dragoljub Jovanovich, and to *Glas Naroda*, published by Marija Radic, Stephan Radic's widow. In the first issue she published two poems by Vladimir Nazor, now president of Croatia, to expose his opportunism. One had been written during the war and was dedicated to the fascist collaborator, Ante Pavelic. The other was dedicated to Tito. For her rashness, a bomb was exploded in the paper's bookshop.

Local administration is maintained through the People's Council or *Vijece*. It is patterned on the Soviet model. The CP's local, district or regional secretaries are usually the secretaries of the People's Councils. The idea is to give "unity" to the power of the state. If a council fails in carrying out superior orders, it is arbitrarily dissolved and Communist control is instituted. Its chief function is to see to it that the people think what the government wants them to think. If the people are adamant, pressure is brought to bear and they have difficulty in getting ration cards, food and other things, or they find themselves in jail.

Each council, by the way, has its "denunciation" office, which issues a *karakteristika*, a secret report on every citizen within its territory. If anyone moves elsewhere, the report is sent on. If the report is unfavorable, the person concerned has no hope of getting a state job, which usually means unemployment, as most jobs are now given by the state. The victim of this modern *lettre de cachet* never has a chance to know the charge against him or to defend himself.

Article 28 of the constitution guarantees the rights of citizens, who may not be kept under arrest for more than three days without an order from the court or authorization by the Supreme State Prosecutor. Nevertheless, many persons are imprisoned for months without being given any reason and often without their families knowing their whereabouts.

Much of this work, in addition to what is done by the CP, is performed by OZNA, the Department for the Defense of the People. It was organized by the Russians and is patterned on the NKVD, the Soviet secret police. To combine the statements of three prominent Communists, it is regarded as "the most precious achievement of the war of national liberation . . . because OZNA has completely fulfilled its task . . . terrifying all our enemies . . . discouraging them completely." The popular answer to these eulogies is, in effect: "If there were more UNRRA and less OZNA, life would be better and the world indeed newer."

The Secret Police

OZNA is organized into several sections, for the control of the citizens, the army, residents abroad, foreigners and state employees and officials, including CP members. It guards the citizen's soul and body. It not only liquidates the enemy, it also converts recalcitrants through "spiritual exercises." These persons are kidnaped, but well treated and coached by a commissar to make them useful tools of the régime. They are indoctrinated with the belief that only one idea, the party's idea, is right. OZNA has on file data on its victims' friends, literary and artistic tastes, sex life, etc.

After the "liberation" of Yugoslavia, OZNA arrested large numbers of people in every village and town. After three weeks of such "liberation," Zagreb's jails held 70,000 prisoners, and this in a town believed strongly pro-Partisan. I know from personal observation that many of those arrested were indeed democrats, while fascists were going free. When protests were made, it was claimed that the "mistakes" had been committed by the "young." But those arrested have rarely been released. For the real enemies of OZNA are not the fascists, but the progressives, the democrats who refuse to swallow the party line.

OZNA's personnel includes some very important intellectuals of the CP. As old revolutionaries and former victims of the reactionary police, they know all the tricks of the trade. King Alexander's police sometimes seem naïve in comparison with OZNA's scientific methods of persecution. Mosha Pijade was permitted to translate and publish Marx while in jail and to teach Communist converts the lessons of Marxism. Such a thing is unimaginable now.

OZNA victims have told me that they are not always beaten or tortured. They are sometimes merely forced to spend the night before an examination standing up, so that by morning they are sufficiently ex-

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hausted to confess. Those convicted are not executed, but kept in secret camps, without being permitted to communicate with their families. It is not astonishing that some idealistic Communists think what one Communist woman told me: "When our comrades organized OZNA at Vis, we were surprised and ashamed. We did not understand the need for it. We thought the majority of the people were with us and that there was no necessity for a secret police."

As individuals, Tito and other responsible government officials are weak compared with OZNA. Dr. Vladimir Bakaric, the Croatian premier, a Communist, was several times ready to resign in protest against the OZNA terror. Every time he was threatened with a "rest" in the Crimea. He is absolutely powerless to stop OZNA's arbitrary purges.

As OZNA is the greatest power in the country, Yugoslav justice is merely an instrument to enforce the government's will. Judges are mainly men who have not studied law but are trusted by the party. This "popular justice" is largely used to strip the moneyed classes of their property and provide the state with funds without having to resort to an open and complete capital levy. The party members have everything. They alone get enough to eat and adequate clothing. They are well housed. Tito inhabits the King's palace, Kardelj the old Stoyadinovich villa, and so on. When I was entertained by state and party functionaries during my trips I always had plenty of food. On going back to my friends, I sometimes found they had been without food for days.

Political Purges

The result of this reign of terror is that all those who do not belong to the "liberation front" are considered "reactionaries," "fascists," etc. And the non-Communist members of Tito's government soon found out that they had been cheated. They discovered that the objective of the Communists was not only liberation but also bolshevization. The patriotic and democratic objectives of the war period were clever devices to win the people's support, while in reality the Communists sought exclusive control inside Yugoslavia to make her a satellite of Russia. The democratic leaders soon realized the impossibility of coöperation with the Communists on an equal basis. They were in the uncomfortable position of not being trusted by the Communists within and also being opposed by the genuine reactionaries outside the government. They feel as if their hands have been tied by the Communists, their feet by the reactionaries, and they lie on the ground like immovable corpses.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

At Least Nothing Secret About It

Exodus of Liberals

The first to leave the country was Dr. Vlatko Macek, the peasant leader, saying: "I'm a Slav, but not a Communist." He is in exile in Paris. The first to leave the government was Mr. Milan Grol, the leader of the Serbian Democratic Party. "For the whole time," he declared, referring to his membership in the cabinet, "I have repeated, and I repeat today, that the agreement of the progressive parties is possible only if the all-powerful CP has an interest in that agreement; in other words, if the CP has decided to share power with the other political parties, which today only share responsibility with the CP." Grol was denounced by Milovan Gjilas, the party's voice, as German by birth, French by style and British by political action—an agent of Anglo-American fascist and international reaction.

Then came the resignation of Dr. Ivan Subasich, the Foreign Minister, who had been arrested by OZNA and held incommunicado. The papers published Tito's reply, but not Subasich's letter of resignation. On the very day he resigned, his political friend, Dr. Juraj Sutej, also handed in his resignation.

When Dr. Dragoljub Jovanovic, the leader of the Serbian Peasant Party, who had survived the November, 1945, elections and was a member of the Presidium, declared that, after being liberated from Monarchy and Church, Yugoslavia should also be liberated from the CP, he was violently attacked as a tool of international reaction. He told his party's convention in May that, though he was a member of the Presidium, he was "informed about the activities of the Presidium only through the newspapers. I read that the Presidium carries out laws and decrees, receives and sends out missions, gives decorations and does everything which, according to the Constitution, it is supposed to do. But I, as a member of the Presidium, am never asked, and so far I have only signed the decree on the Constitution. So far the Presidium has

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met only once, to nominate the Supreme State Prosecutor." And he continued: "The CP has monopolized the National Front, the factories and public offices. In every ministry, in every public enterprise and institution, there is a confidential man from the CP who takes care of every individual, follows everything and decides his destiny." After that speech, Jovanovic was removed from his seat in Parliament, lost his membership in the Presidium and his professorship at the University of Belgrade.

Mr. Sava Kosanovic was sent as ambassador to the United States. The few other non-Communists who remain, like Monsignor Rittig or Dr. Josip Smodlaka, have lost their following among the people. The people call those who work with the Communists in the government "collaborators."

Peripheral Revolution

The Tito revolution which brought the Communists to power is a vertical revolution of the peripheral peoples of Yugoslavia, the most backward and poorest in the country. It is a kind of Jacobin revolution with a national-bolshevik trend. Led by the Montenegrins, it spread to Dalmatia, a great part of Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia. With them were the Serbs from Lika, Serbs and Croats from Bosnia, Croats from Dalmatia and Macedonians. They had the strength, temperament and violence. The Slovenes represented the brains of the movement. But the Serbian and Croatian peasants and middle classes from the most civilized and progressive parts of the country make up the bulk of the opposition. "We felt," a woman told me in Novy Sad, and many others repeated it, "when we threw flowers on the returning Partisans, that they hated us. Their eyes were the eyes of enemies, not those of brothers who had fought for us in the mountains."

They came back from the woods and mountains sick, their nerves shattered by years of killing, many ravaged by tuberculosis. And their minds had been captured by the new religion, which is mystic, fanatical and dynamic: "The road opened for us and for our people by Comrade Tito is the only one, the people's Slavic progressive democracy, the freedom for which we fought and died and for which we will annihilate everybody who is or will be against us."

This Slavic religion, in its aggressiveness, ruthlessness and roughness, is a new form of fascism. The people, however, cannot see any difference between it and ustachism or chetnikism or what the Communists call fascism. The resemblance between the two phenomena, indeed, makes Yugoslavia's peripheral communism a new version of national bolshevism.

Colorado: Political Hotfoot?

by Ralph G. Martin

Denver

"We're gonna slaughter them," said 39-year-old ex-newspaperman Gene Cervi, Democratic boss of Colorado. "We've got to. This election is crucial. If we win, we can help make the whole Rocky Mountain region a hard core of liberalism in the country. If we lose—

"We can't lose. That's your story."

That's Cervi's story, and it makes sense. For the first time since the days of Senator Costigan, liberal Democrats here have an excellent chance of electing one of four congressmen as well as a Governor.

But there won't be any political slaughtering. It's going to be a tight fight. In Colorado a handful of bankers on Denver's Seventeenth Street literally own the state. Politics is their poker and they've been playing the game for too many years to let themselves be pushed out easily. They have all the money and they don't like liberal talk about higher taxes for highways and hospitals and schools. They own all the utilities, and the MVA and public-ownership publicity scare them. They want to keep Colorado quiet and conservative and comfortable—for them.

To do this, they've supported the Stapleton machine, keeping Ben Stapleton as mayor-dictator of Denver, on the Hague-Kelly plan, for the past 25 years. In the state-national picture, practically 95 percent of Seventeenth Street has always stayed Republican. But the other five percent, like the Adams machine, has gone in to take over the Democratic Party. So far, there's always been an Adams in the US Senate and the State Capitol, and they want to make sure they choose isolationist Senator Ed Johnson's successor in '48.

But now there's a new fever in the Democratic Party. You get it when you talk to people like State Chairman Gene Cervi. Cervi took the job in '44 only when the Big Money finally agreed to let him stump hard for FDR. Then when Cervi's campaign sounded too liberal, they tried to dump him, but Cervi wouldn't be dumped. Instead, he broke a 66-66 tie by voting to elect liberal Barney Whatley as national committeeman. The state chairman comes up for election in September and Seventeenth Street can kick Cervi out if they want to, but if they do, they can kiss the election goodbye. For the first time there is Democratic unity in this campaign, all welded tightly around Cervi. And Democratic Seventeenth Street wants a victory badly.

Behind him, Cervi has the unified support of all

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labor and progressive groups, the complete push of the Young Democrats, an organization which has tripled in size since June, mostly veterans. Then there are new groups, such as the Rocky Mountain Council for Social Action, backed by NCPAC.

These young people talk in terms of hillbilly bands, doorbell ringing, campaigns in airplanes, big picnics.

"We're booming, I tell you," said Ed Scheunemann, president of the Young Democrats. "This state has needed a housecleaning for a long time. The veterans want some changes made. It takes more than money to win elections; it takes people. And we're gonna get to the people."

"Look at the way Montana kicked out Wheeler," said hard-working Craig Vincent of the Social Action Council. "And the way Taylor is cleaning up Idaho and how Utah has always stayed liberal. If they can do it, we can do it. And if we do it, maybe we can spread the spirit down into New Mexico, Arizona and Wyoming. Why not?"

"Yes, there hasn't been so much political fight among the young people since my husband's campaign in '32," said Mrs. Howard Costigan, a wonderful woman who looks like Whistler's mother but talks like Bob Hannegan. Her husband was a powerful worker for the social-security and anti-lynching bills, and built his own organization of young liberals. But it was a personal machine and it died in '40 when he did. "I really think we'll win this time," said Mrs. Costigan.

Probably, but the fight will be tough.

The Gubernatorial Race

It should be easier with the governorship. The present Republican Governor, Vivian, has such an absolutely blank record of do-nothing and has caused so much public irritation that the Republicans themselves have bounced him. Their new candidate, Leon Lavington, a small-town big businessman, has about as much color as a drop of water. Stuffy speaker, fat empty phrases, no warmth. And here's the kind of campaign he's running: Let's keep our platform a secret for a while. Shhhhh.

Democratic candidate Lee Knous, former chief justice of the state supreme court, had a strong liberal record on the War Labor Board without getting either labor or management mad at him. Behind him, Cervi has united every faction of the Democratic Party from organized labor to Senator Johnson.

A tip-off on the election comes from prominent, long-time Republicans who make you promise not to use their names, then whisper, "Between you and me, I'm going to vote for Knous."

Some of the quieter talk around town says that Seventeenth Street has sensed the swollen dissatisfaction with the past few Republican administrations and they won't oppose Knous too vigorously. Knous is their political bone tossed to the people.

But Knous isn't the crucial key to the new spirit. The key is John Carroll, running in the primary for Congress from the First District (Denver area). In the other three Colorado districts, the Democrats don't stand a chance. In the Second and Third, there are vague possibilities, but mostly for the future. In the Fourth, they don't even have a candidate.

Carroll: Straw in the Wind

And in Carroll they have a fighting probability. The big trick will be to get him past the primary on September 10. If he does that, even Republicans admit that his chances are good against incumbent Republican Representative Gillespie. Gillespie has a bad record; in the last *New Republic* congressional chart, he had only two progressive votes out of 10 issues.

In fact, Republicans are so worried about Carroll that they're planning to do a lot of crossing over the party line (permissible here) to vote against him.

When they do, they'll vote for Thomas Nevin, a political lightweight who has the full backing of Seventeenth Street and the Adams machine and everybody else who doesn't like Carroll.

That includes people like Mike Pomponio, powerful political boss of District X who, it is reported, wanted Carroll to lay off his brother, who had been indicted for selling civil-service exams. Carroll was district attorney then, and Carroll said no. He said no to a lot of Mike Pomponios.

The Stapleton machine doesn't like Carroll either; he's too liberal for them. But there's another angle here. The Adams machine wants to step in and take over Denver as soon as the aging Stapleton steps out. They'll probably oppose him in the mayoralty election next year. Besides a natural unwillingness to support the Adams candidate for Congress, Stapleton knows that he'd lose labor support in '47 if he backed Nevin. So he's keeping hands off.

Nevin lost any possibility of labor support himself when he came out recently with a rubber-stamp piece of Red-baiting. Then he calmly told the press that he had AFL support! The next day the AFL publicly came out for Carroll.

The young liberals say that if they can elect Carroll, as well as Knous and Cervi, they'll have the nucleus of a fresh, new, vigorous Democratic organization. Then maybe they'll put up an anti-machine candidate for mayor in '47, if they can find him. And in '48, perhaps they can replace Ed Johnson with a dynamic progressive like Jim Patton of the National Farmers' Union.

But Carroll is their pivotal point, their straw in the wind. So watch the newspapers. It may be only a small item on one of the inside pages on September 11, if it's there at all. But if you read that a man named John Carroll has been nominated for Congress in Colorado's Democratic primary, you will know that something important has happened.

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Report on Russia

VI. Does America Want Coöperation?

by Earl Browder

THE BASIC question of Soviet-American relations is this: Was the Roosevelt policy of coöperation with the Soviet Union merely a wartime expediency, or can it be long-range American policy?

I consider this the central issue for the world. As it is decided, so shall we move toward a durable peace or toward another and more destructive war. My own stand is unambiguously in support of the Roosevelt policy for America. It is the only course which protects our national interest, the only practical policy as well as the only road to a durable peace.

The policy of coöperation has a base broader than any ideology or creed. But it puts every ideology to the test, for any system of ideas which obstructs peace has something basically wrong with it.

My own right to speak on this issue has been challenged. On the one hand I have been denounced as a "Soviet agent" and therefore a prejudiced witness; on the other hand I have been called a "renegade" from Marxism and so not to be heeded by the Left.

I have refused to discuss such attacks because they are immaterial and irrelevant. To attain a durable peace requires the coöperation of persons of all views and ideologies except fascism. I am not a Soviet agent --except in dealings between Soviet and American publishers, a new business relationship—but I frankly admit I am a prejudiced witness, having cast my decision in favor of Soviet-American coöperation even before the war. I base my arguments, however, not upon my previous judgments but upon an examination of our own country's present interests most broadly conceived.

My predisposition in favor of close relations with the Soviet Union arises from viewing that country as the frontier in humanity's struggle for a better world, for better ways of living. It is the same frontier my parents and grandparents followed so eagerly on the American continent since the seventeenth century. When I grew up on the plains of Kansas this frontier, having dominated the progressive minds of the world for two centuries, was fading, leaving a void and a frustration of spirit. The Russian Revolution rediscovered that frontier for me, and I felt a deep kinship for the new Russia from its first days. I have studied it constantly as one of its American friends. I think my experience qualifies me to speak to all Americans.

My only remark to the charge by some of the American Left that I am a renegade is that I have reneged on nothing (can they say as much?) and that better Marxists than they continue to call me friend.

THE GREAT ISSUE: PEACE

I speak for peace and coöperation between America and Russia. I say this is possible without the Soviet Union abandoning its socialism and without the United States abandoning its capitalism.

Every American who wishes to work for a durable peace for the world, which only Soviet-American cooperation can guarantee, must learn how to rise above all attempts to silence him, no matter from what direction they come. Every American is duty-bound to do something practical for this cause.

Most Americans are not ideologically in favor of friendship with the Soviet Union. They come to it only by seeing it as practically beneficial to our own country. Far from having favorable prejudices, they have for 29 years been conditioned to an attitude of fear and suspicion toward everything connected with the USSR. For 16 years our government refused to recognize Russia as a member of the family of nations. Any American who spoke for coöperation between the two countries was at once tagged as a "Moscow agent." During the war, when it was obvious that Soviet sacrifices were saving millions of American lives, this old prejudice was temporarily broken down. The effects of the joint war effort will be lasting, but for the present moment they are forgotten. Even before the fighting was over, America suddenly reverted to "business as usual." We are living through a revival of the old hostility in a more violent form. Americans are again being conditioned to an attitude of conflict with Russia.

It is in the midst of this anti-Soviet incitement that we must decide whether we shall establish coöperation with the Soviet Union, *i. e.*, whether we seriously wish a durable peace.

This is the last in a series by Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party of America, who was expelled from party membership this year.

The New Republic, *which believes in liberal democracy, is of course opposed on principle to communism. We publish Browder's series for its intrinsic interest and value.*

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If America decides for coöperation it will be despite ideological conflict. That is a hard fact; there is nothing to be gained by avoiding it. We must find bases of coöperation outside the field of ideology.

An especially dangerous feature of the anti-Russian campaign in American newspapers is the claim that Soviet leaders have abandoned the aim of coöperation with the United States and that it is therefore useless to make any efforts to this end.

One purpose of my recent visit to Moscow was to find out if the Soviet leaders still believe coöperation with America is possible or if the continuous development of American resistance to all Soviet aims and the eclipse of Roosevelt's policy has made them lose hope.

The answer I received to this question was clear and straightforward. The Soviet Union, people and leaders, wants coöperation with the United States, believes it possible and has not lost hope. Those Americans who realize such coöperation is necessary in our own interests can fight for it with the knowledge that Russia moves undeviatingly in the same direction.

America Talks Too Tough

America's reluctance to find common ground with the USSR in defining the peace, together with the newspaper campaign this country conducts against her, has caused sharp Soviet criticism of America's conduct in world affairs. But nowhere in the Soviet Union, either in newspapers or in private conversation, can one find anything like the open incitations to war which have become commonplace here.

It is a shocking thing to read in a supposedly responsible American newspaper the judgment that the British and Americans *"are likely to demand that their governments take drastic action for their security while they still possess a commanding degree of military superiority over the Soviet Union."* This open call to war, printed in the New York *Herald Tribune* and signed by the well known military commentator, George Fielding Eliot, was written in connection with the Paris Conference, supposedly in order to "soften up" the Soviet representatives, to force them to drop their disagreements with the Byrnes proposals.[1]

What would Americans think and do if similar threats against our country were published unrebuked in *Pravda* as a means of impressing the Soviet position upon us?

Along such a road there is no end but disaster.

[1] Major Eliot's article appeared in his syndicated column on July 29. The full text of the pertinent passage is as follows:

"The great unanswered question is whether, as between such fundamental diversities [between Russia and the Western powers] . . . reconciliation and . . . satisfactory relations are possible at all.

"The charter of the United Nations is based on the promise that the answer to this question is yes. But if the people of the great Western democracies become convinced by successive failures that the answer is no, then whether their convictions are right or wrong, they are likely to demand that their governments take drastic action for their security while they still possess a commanding degree of military superiority over the Soviet Union."

—THE EDITORS

Byrnes complains in Paris that he is called upon to "make all the concessions." The New York *Times* backs him up by saying that Russia is "sovietizing" all Europe. Such views exhibit a strange blindness to realities. The outstanding fact is that there has been no "sovietizing" revolution in any European country since the war, although the entire continent is in a profoundly revolutionary situation, more explosive than that of 1918. The Soviet Union has adopted a helpful and tolerant attitude toward the new regimes in country after country which, because of their desire to coöperate with the United States, make greater concessions to American than to Soviet ideology. This is the fruit of Roosevelt's wise policy toward the USSR. It is maintained in the hope and expectation of the revival of his policy in America. It is blindness not to see in this situation the effective mutual concessions which provide common ground for coöperative peacemaking.

The Soviet Union accepts, but America rejects, the reorganization of the liberated countries on a "middle ground" that looks to coöperation with both powers.

By this course it is Byrnes, not Molotov, who is pushing the liberated countries farther and faster along the road to complete socialism than they would otherwise choose to go. This results from the fact that he forces them to choose between aligning themselves with America or the Soviet Union, he rejects the middle ground and renders it untenable by his attitude. If they must choose, these countries inevitably choose the Soviet Union. Denied the benefits of coöperation with America, they must move more rapidly to complete socialization. Faced with rising guerrilla warfare by the fascist remnants, who speculate upon Byrnes's anti-Soviet policies, these countries inevitably strengthen their governmental self-protection.

Where Our Policy Leads

This course of events moves away from a stable peace and raises the danger of a new war.

I am quite certain in my own mind that no responsible member of the Truman Administration seriously entertains the idea of making war on the Soviet Union in order to enforce those proposals of Byrnes which the Soviet leaders reject.

I am even more certain that, regardless of intentions, this Administration is of such a nature and relies for its existence upon such forces as to make its launching an aggressive war of this type impossible.

The danger of the Byrnes policies is not that they express *intentions* of war, or that the Administration would or could wage such a war. The danger is that the course ends in futility and deadlock, it engenders an atmosphere of hostility and conflict, it estranges all progressive forces at home and abroad—and thus opens a broad highway to the defeat and eventual elimination of the Truman Administration in the coming elections. This will inevitably bring into power the diehard

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reactionary wing of the Republican Party, typified by Herbert Hoover and his friends and supported by the Tory wing of the Democrats—a combination that would not hesitate to plunge America into a war of aggression against the Soviets.

The Truman Administration can successfully lead America, maintaining the popular majority it inherited from Roosevelt, only through enforcing the Roosevelt policies, including coöperation and friendship with the Soviet Union for a durable peace. It cannot win a competition with the Republicans for leadership of an anti-Soviet crusade.

The further danger of the Byrnes policies is that they delay and prevent reconstruction and stabilization of the war-damaged lands, thereby injuring everyone, not least the United States itself. This country has an enormous stake in a stable peace, without which there can be no expansion of markets. Without expanding markets, America is racing toward a great economic crisis. Our present course, which challenges the Soviet Union on every slightest pretext, which ostentatiously rouses suspicion and lack of confidence, which stubbornly insists on decisions known to violate the Soviet view of its basic security needs, which even threatens "drastic action"—"while we still possess a commanding degree of military superiority over the Soviet Union"—this course instigates civil wars and throws the entire world into ferment and fever.

The Failure of Leadership

Is it so extremely difficult to reconcile American national interest with that of the Soviet Union?

I venture to assert that it is not too difficult, certainly not impossible—if we can establish it as the nation's purpose.

There are more and sharper direct clashes of interest between America and Great Britain than there are between America and the Soviet Union. But these do not prevent us from adjusting the issues without serious open clashes. Our representatives, however, seem eager to have such conflicts with the Soviets.

American leadership has forgotten the national purpose, as formulated by Roosevelt, for a stable peace achieved through coöperation of the greatest powers as equals.

There is today a larger majority than Roosevelt ever had, ready to support this policy. But there is a failure of leadership. The short-sighted men of all parties are in temporary command. They are ready to fight for anything—except for a durable peace.

I am speaking for myself, an individual without organizational ties. But I know America and her people, her workers in mines, factories, roads, shops and offices, with their great and complex trade unions; I know farmers of the plains and the people of the small towns, as well as the crowds of the great cities. I know that a majority of my countrymen and women, disagreeing with me on a thousand other things, are of one mind with me in seeking unity under the banner of Roosevelt's policies. I know they would gather with enthusiasm around any leadership which restated the Roosevelt peace policies clearly and boldly.

A Program for Lasting Peace

This general agreement, which awaits adequate leadership, I should formulate as follows:

We want a durable peace and not merely a truce in preparation for the next war.

We know that this depends upon the coöperation of America and the Soviet Union.

We recognize that such coöperation must leave America free to be capitalistic and the Soviet Union to be socialistic—that it must be coöperation between two differing and contrasting systems.

We accept the Soviet Union's collaboration on the basis of complete equality. We know that a common policy must embody the vital interests of both countries, must harmonize with those of the majority of all lands, and therefore cannot be dictated by any ideology, whether American or Soviet.

We want the United Nations to be a place where America and the Soviet Union apply their joint policies in collaboration with others, and not a field of struggle where each strives for advantages.

We shall do everything we can to avoid the division of the world, and of separate countries, into two camps of pro-Soviet and pro-American forces in growing opposition to each other. We shall strive for a pro-unity camp which will unite both under a higher loyalty toward the common interest.

We are determined that the relative merits of the capitalistic and socialistic systems shall be put to the tests of peace, to see in practice which serves best to feed, house, clothe and educate the peoples they serve; but that this rivalry shall not be permitted to seek the test of war. We know that in another war there can be no victors, and it is even questionable how many survivors.

I have studied the Soviet Union closely for 25 years. I have recently visited there and talked to leaders of all grades, from Foreign Minister Molotov to the directors of factory and farm. I am convinced that any real effort by America toward a mutually beneficial coöperation will be met in the same spirit.

I am equally convinced that such a course is the most practical politically for the United States, not only for advancing the larger and long-time interests of the nation, but more immediately for the winning of elections—without which no policy is very practical.

That leadership and party which convinces the American people that it can and will establish a durable peace, that it will hasten the healing of the world's war wounds, will win the allegiance of the American voters for the next generation.

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Southern Liberal

by Thomas Sancton

RECENT EXPOSURE by an enterprising Greenwood, Mississippi, newspaper of a brutal, suppressed lynching once again etches the profile of a new and significant "Southern liberal"—Hodding Carter, editor and author, of Greenville, Mississippi—across the increasingly clouded and ominous background of his region.

The lynching was exposed by the staff of Carter's new daily, the Greenwood *Star*, which he prints in his Greenville plant fifty miles away and trucks across the flat plantation land of the delta. The new paper is run by three young veterans, James N. Alsop, half-owner, Charles Pou and Frank Smith. They and their mentor represent a new type of journalism in isolated and reaction-bound Mississippi.

The recent lynching story was broken by Managing Editor Pou, who got an anonymous telephone tip that two Greenwood men would be indicted in a nearby county for their part in "the murder of a nigger." Checking around by telephone, he uncovered the story of the lynching of Leon McTatie, 35-year-old Negro tenant farmer, murdered, it is charged, by six planters in nearby Holmes County. McTatie had been accused of stealing a saddle, though later questioning developed that his two young stepsons had stolen it. Five whites were indicted for the murder. It is possible that the case may be carried to its conclusion, since Carter's newspapers have focused attention on it. Otherwise it would be fairly certain to wither away by the October meeting of the county grand jury.

Reading through the country press of Mississippi, remote weeklies of small circulation, one comes across occasional murders of this sort, briefly and hypocritically noted in the public prints and immediately forgotten. In the classic sense, they are not lynchings and are not reflected in the statistics mouthed in Congress. They are private murders, done in the stillness of a pine forest or along some country road. Often they are given the coloring of justified police killings. Actually they are race murders, caste executions, and have no relation to ordinary homicides committed for the usual reasons that cause men to take lives. They stem from the same demented blood-lust that has run such a course in Germany. At a conservative estimate, there are 20 such "executions" a year in the rural counties of the South—and 50 would probably be closer to the actual number.

The great majority of "Southern leadership" and particularly Southern newspapers, who derive advantages from the status quo, do not look too hard for such evidence and discourage any attempts to do so.

In the past year, with the publication of a forceful novel, receipt of the Pulitzer editorial prize and victory in a journalistic rough-and-tumble with Bilbo, Carter has stepped forward as a new and extremely articulate "Southern liberal"—with more genuine claim to the label than a number of others who have borne it. Carter is a stocky, saturnine Louisianan, in the neighborhood of forty, who bucked Huey Long, made some money, sold out a small paper some ten years ago and moved into the rich, reactionary Mississippi delta to found the Greenville *Delta Democrat Times*. There is little of the dispassionate, selfless philosopher in his makeup. He has a hard intelligence, a robust personal ambition and a world of guts. His ability to make money and to pack a .45, if necessary, writes the insurance policy for his liberalism among planters who are extremely money-minded and respect power and little else.

The personality and motivations of a Southerner like Carter would make material fitter for a novel than for a brief profile. Such a study might come closer to the tortuous psychological complexities of Southern life than did his own novelized version of Southern race problems, *The Winds of Fear*, excellent technically, but a book which missed deeper truths by a wide margin. It subscribed, among other things, to the traditional view of Southern liberals that lynchers are to be found chiefly among a margin of malevolent poor whites, while many high-minded main-streeters and planters oppose mob action through an innate zeal for justice. Southern life is not really like this. The men who are accused of lynching Leon McTatie are planters. And behind every lynch mob stalks the spirit of the Southern main streets and plantations, whose owners have the deepest investments in caste and economic serfdom.

Measured against the feudal reaction of the cotton delta, Carter's liberalism is an unquestioned achievement. His are the only dailies in the state which are motivated in race matters and other related public issues by a sense of realism, honor and intelligence.

The simple fact that a journalist of Carter's ability is in Mississippi at all, to exercise a veto power representing intelligence and general good will, is a matter of great importance these days. A score of such people in the South in 1860 might have prevented the Civil War. Today a score of them could shock the South from its deepening dream-state of Ku Kluxery and the evil past. Not long ago it seemed that the South had seen the way out. But the willful, sickening defeats in Georgia and elsewhere show us once more that the fight, far from ending at Appomattox, is hardly even started.

Thomas Sancton is a former Nieman fellow and New Republic *editor who now lives and writes in Mississippi. His book,* The Southern People, *will be published by Doubleday next spring.*

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Iverstown Slaughter

THE LATEST Hollywood film to show modern life as a jungle is titled "The Strange Love of Martha Ivers" and is a jolting, sour, engrossing work. It deals with four people who have lived cataclysmic, laughterless lives since they were babies. There is Martha (Barbara Stanwyck), who likes to steal, run away from home, murder and hammer her victims with clubs; her husband (Kirk Douglas), who is wracked by guilt because he is made an accomplice in Martha's evil doings, and is further tormented by her promiscuity with life-guard types and lack of yen for him; a gambler (Van Heflin) and a girl just released from the pen (Lizabeth Scott), who act as if there were no evil that hadn't been imposed on them. More and more movies are turning up which show life as constantly hair-raising—an affair of hard knocks, hard drinking, hard smoking, sadism, greed, unhappy marriages, bad parents, bad district attorneys, seedy hotel rooms. They are on the right path in trying to show modern life as a battlefield, but they make each second of living more violent than seems possible. The harrowing insecurity of people's lives runs to double suicides, gangsterism and blackmail instead of the quieter, more subtle destructions that only drive them to psychiatrists. Too much of "Martha Ivers" seems synthetic; but it is unusual in its power to upset you one way or another—by violent acts conceived with imagination, uninhibited acting, and the fact that it is directed and written so that there are no loose ends or lagging. Its gaudy people are ten times more arresting than those in the average picture.

The movie is concerned with numerous love affairs among the four central characters. The most gripping relationship is the one-sided affair between Martha and her loving, alcoholic husband, in which both Miss Stanwyck and Douglas give successful characterizations of people who suffer inwardly a great deal and are involved in a negative marriage. Kirk Douglas is especially good for his voice, beseeching and miserable, and there is one extraordinary scene with the two of them hurt and shouting at each other at once that is as painful as it is convincing. The chaotic scenes are written with unusual ability and are directed so well that they boil and seethe as movie scenes rarely do.

The hero in "The Strange Love of Martha Ivers" is a character with more personalized details and complexities than any that has turned up in American movies this year; his actions are unpredictable, erratic and impulsive. Basically Sam Masterson is something of a cliché movie character—the cynical tough guy who is on to everything and as pleased as punch with himself—generally played these days by Dane Clark, John Garfield, Zachary Scott. And usually this character gets on one's nerves with his self-pity and the too frequent implication that the world has done him wrong. Van Heflin, in an extraordinary job of acting, gives the role a meatiness and individuality that it's never had before. His Masterson wallows in amazing conceit and scorn. He's not only superior to everyone, but gives the feeling that he must stand apart from them, too. With all of his mannerisms, Heflin makes Masterson an unusually alert person and, strangely enough, a rather sensitive one.

The movie has too much the quality of the sensational stories in the Hearst Sunday Magazine section. The photography (Victor Milner's), which is soft and shiny, is more suited to a wispier, pleasanter subject. It makes every detail seem unimportant because the lighting is so confused and the details so blurred. I don't remember a recent A-budget production that exhibited such indifferent art work. Most of the time the brickwork, billboards, bus-terminal entrance look as if they were whipped up by apprentice carpenters at the studio, and the gingerbread that covers Martha's mansion filched from your nearest theatre. But every now and then some wonderful, bizarre item turns up in a scene—like the regal blanket in the drab hotel room, or the ghost-white Lord and Taylor slip worn by Miss Scott the day she gets out of the pen. Incidentally, I have never seen a movie so given over to people stocking up on cigarettes, lighting them, stubbing them out, throwing them on the floor, studying them. Sometimes it looked like a busy day at the Chesterfield plant.

The whole job is of the punchy type Clifford Odets turns out in which you feel actors, writers, director worked pretty impetuously and felt like trying almost anything to hold your attention. It is a technique that turns out movies with fire and stuff, and generally I'm all for it. "Martha Ivers" is exciting, though it has odds and ends from every non-musical Warners made in the early thirties.

Other recent movies I liked are "The Big Sleep," "The Killers" and "The Stranger." MANNY FARBER

Science and Technology

A Ticker on Every Breakfast Table

NEW YORK has a new daily newspaper. You won't find it on the newsstands. It is free. Its name is *Air Press*. In *Air Press* you will find the latest United Press news, boxscores and news pictures. Hundreds of similar newspapers will spring up throughout the United States in the next few years, and their publishers expect to make money. Like *Air Press*, these papers will come right to your breakfast table. Their delivery route will be the air waves. An electronic press, attached to your FM radio, will print them.

This extraordinary technical development is called facsimile reproduction. Photographs and printed matter have been transmitted by wire and radio for years, but only recently have engineers devised a simple, practical receiver which will print miniature newspapers in the home. Mass production of these home facsimile receivers is already under way. You should be able to buy one some time next year for the price of a good typewriter. You can use it if you have a facsimile-equipped FM station in your vicinity.

For the mechanically minded, home facsimile works somewhat after this fashion: Copy to be transmitted is clamped around a revolving drum. As the copy revolves, an extremely narrow beam of light scans it, translating highlights and shadows of the lettering into FM impulses which are sent over the air into the receiving unit. The receiver amplifies these impulses and retranslates them into highlights and shadows by depositing minute marks on electro-sensitive printing paper. The copy pours out in one continuous sheet from a slit at the top of the receiver.

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The quality of home facsimile print doesn't compare with the old-fashioned, or inked, variety. Although pictures reproduce quite well over home receivers, "faxed" print looks somewhat quavery. It's perfectly readable, though, and the inventors hope to improve its appearance by designing more radio-genic type faces. Since FM stations don't generally have linotype machines handy for printing their copy, they will probably use self-justifying typewriters (those which produce lines that are even on the right as well as the left) to get out their news flashes.

The prohibitive cost of setting up a standard metropolitan newspaper will conceivably send many aspiring publishers into the home-facsimile-newspaper business. An FM transmitter costs only from $5,000 to $20,000, and a facsimile transmitter around $10,000. The facsimile publisher has no trouble with the newspaper-delivery racket; no newsprint quotas to worry about. The customer buys his own press and his own printing paper.

Word for word, facsimile is speedier than voice radio. Home facsimile receivers turn out copy at about 500 words a minute, which is faster than two announcers can speak intelligibly. In one 15-minute period they can print four pages, 9.5 by 12 inches in size, of news, photographs and features. The makeup of most facsimile newssheets so far clings to orthodox newspaper format, but eventually they will probably dispense with columns and seek a design more suited to the problems of the medium. One of these is that, assuming there are enough facsimile transmitters within 30 miles of your receiver, you will be able to tune off any page that looks dull and turn to another station. Because of the dialing problem, the leads to stories must be written so as to retain listener interest. Stories might be broken up to sandwich in a few ads. But ads will have to be brief. The set owner will be paying for the paper at the rate of one dollar for a 100-foot roll (enough to last a month). This works out at about a quarter of a cent a page. He will thus dole out one pennyworth of paper for every four pages of the advertisements which will support facsimile papers.

Commercials and all, facsimile eventually should be a great boon to dwellers out of town, where regular delivery of newspapers is difficult. Unfortunately, the range of facsimile transmissions over FM channels is about 30 miles, which won't help the farmer in the middle of Iowa. Under present conditions, facsimile will be used almost exclusively where it is needed least—in urban areas. The FCC refuses to allow fax-casting by standard, or AM, stations, except after voice-casting hours, although outside the New York-New England area FM stations can broadcast facsimile 18 hours a day if they wish. Proposals have already been made to the FCC that most metropolitan AM stations switch to FM within the next few years, assigning the longer AM frequencies for broadcasting to rural areas. This plan, which is dependent on nationwide network relays by radio or coaxial cable, would bring facsimile transmissions within the reach of rural residences.

John V. L. Hogan, the founder and operator of station WQXR, New York, and a pioneer in facsimile development, estimates that within the next few years some 500,000 facsimile receivers will be in operation in the New York-New England area alone. To speed the development of home facsimile, he has organized a research project known as Broadcasters' Faximile Analysis, which is financed by a group of radio broadcasters, many of them with newspaper affiliations ranging from the Hearst press and the Chicago *Tribune* to the New York *Times*. Hogan is sure that home facsimile will be sponsored primarily by the big newspapers. And the established press seems quite eager to take over home facsimile, using it at first as a sort of reader come-on, a means of transmitting any big news which happens to break between regular editions, and thus competing for attention with radio's news bulletins.

One problem the press doesn't seem to have considered yet is that in using public channnels of communication to distribute the printed word, it will have to submit to the restraints placed on radio by the FCC. In other words, for the first time since the adoption of our First Amendment to the Constitution, the written word, the press, will be subject to government control.

Several months ago, Colonel Robert McCormick, owner of the Chicago *Tribune*, "the World's Greatest Newspaper," was having a four-page specially prepared copy of that organ radio-facsimiled into his Wheaton, Illinois, farm. One assumes that no copy of the *Tribune*, however miniature, would be complete, especially to Colonel McCormick, without its well known editorials. What would happen if this copy were to be facsimile-broadcast to the public at large? Under existing regulations, the transmitting station would be liable to revocation of its license. For the FCC has ruled that the air waves cannot be used to further one's partisan ends (except the legitimate end of deriving income from the sale of soap). This ruling is embodied in the famous "Mayflower" decision, arising from an application for license renewal by the Yankee Network, Inc. Among other things, the FCC postulated that:

> With the limitations in frequencies inherent in the nature of radio, the public interest can never be served by the dedication of broadcast facility to the support of [the broadcaster's] partisan ends. Radio can serve as an instrument of democracy only when devoted to the communication of information . . . fairly and objectively presented. The broadcaster cannot be advocate. . . .

The writer's own feeling is that here the FCC seems to have treated as mutually exclusive two concepts: (1) the right of a publisher to speak his convictions through any medium of communication and (2) the practical necessity for preventing a monopoly of political pressure by any group in a medium of communication whose traffic potential is limited and whose common carrier (the air waves) is public property. The "limitations in frequencies inherent in the nature of radio" do not, in the writer's view, seem to demand that the broadcaster refrain from being advocate *if his advocacy does not go unchallenged, but is balanced by opposing points of view*. Were the FCC to allow the broadcaster to express his political views under these conditions, it could help stimulate open, balanced discussion of controversial issues. This policy would also allow broadcasters of facsimile newspapers to air their views before the public, perhaps in a kind of "battle page" open to proponents of various political beliefs. Thus the press (electronic) would preserve its right to persuade and the public its right to balanced information.

THOMAS WHITESIDE

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The Bandwagon

Use of the Navy to implement foreign policy is not "waving the big stick," or a mere show of naval power, but a highly effective method of expressing the magnitude of American sentiment on matters of concern abroad. – *The Florida* Times-Union.

Unfortunately [the book's] purpose is nullified to some extent by cessation of military hostilities. – *From a review of* General and Plastic Surgery with Emphasis on War Injuries *in the* Journal *of the American Medical Association.*

Macio Snipes, a Negro who succumbed in a hospital here, died of a bullet wound inflicted by Edward Cooper in self-defense, according to the verdict of a jury empaneled by Coroner J. D. Cooke. . . . It so happened that Snipes was the only Negro to vote at the Rupert district in the recent election. – *From the Atlanta* Journal.

The American Scene

The goats who died in Bikini's atom blast will be honored in a memorial service here next Sunday, complete with eulogy, lowering of the flag to half-staff and blowing of "taps." – *AP dispatch from North Hollywood, Calif.*

Department of Weights and Measures

Lacking in qualities inspired by the midwest brand of Americanism, these weeklies [the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, etc.] fail to offer their readers anything remotely approaching the physical content of a good Sunday newspaper. The Chicago *Sunday Tribune*, for example, weighs 28 ounces; these magazines, five. – *From the Chicago* Sunday Tribune.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Nuremberg Trials

SIR: It was with great interest that I read "An Appeal to the Nuremberg Court," by Alexander H. Pekelis (the *New Republic*, August 26). Putting it bluntly: he doesn't want the initiators of aggressive war to be hanged for the reason that aggressive war is mass murder, but only for the reason that they did not execute this murder scientifically according to certain rules. If the Nuremberg tribunal were to follow this advice, its sentence would not be a landmark in legal history but just another sentence against a criminal gang.

The problem of whether aggressive warfare is a crime or not a crime has been discussed by many legal theorists. Unfortunately, many of them are not familiar with the evidence assembled in the Nuremberg trials. Otherwise they would know that the aggressive warfare, as planned by the Nazis since 1933, is just a grand-scale type of murder waged to annihilate their victims and to make use of their land and property later on.

DR. R. M. W. KEMPNER

Palace of Justice, Nuremberg, Germany

La Follette of Wisconsin

SIR: The defeat of Robert M. La Follette for renomination to the Wisconsin senatorship is most discouraging to those persons in our country who believe in continuing in office those who have been faithful to the majority of our people. La Follette's lack of sympathy with the Administration's foreign policy is not to me, a supporter of most of our foreign policy, a matter that should have been considered in the decision as to whether he should have been backed by all persons with social vision.

Neither should the question of his wisdom in going over to the Republican Party have been a factor in the attitude of organized labor toward his renomination. What Bob La Follette did in furthering social and labor legislation should have been the supreme test as to whether men and women of good will and vision should have supported his candidacy.

In the early days of his career in the Senate, La Follette prevented, by his quick action, perhaps the most iniquitous court injunction ever issued in an industrial struggle. I refer to the injunction given by U. S. Judge Kirkpatrick. . . . Two years later, through putting in a bill calling for the establishment of an Economic Council, Bob La Follette made it possible to get a real picture of what was happening in the depression by calling into Washington as witnesses before a Senate committee the leaders of finance, industry, labor and general social welfare. The evidence gathered by this committee afterwards became the basis of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

In the early years of the depression, La Follette made a magnificent fight against great odds for federal relief for those who had been thrown into dire misery. . . . Then came his great service to organized labor, the forcing of an investigation of espionage in industry. For two generations, terrorization by employers had been the common practice, and this largely accounted for the slow growth of the organized labor movement. This investigation for the Senate subcommittee caused the industrial terrorists to run to cover and, in many cases, stopped their practices. . . .

His defeat in Wisconsin means more than just the removal from the Senate of a dependable fighter for the common good. It is a sad commentary on the lack of appreciation of some of our liberals and some of organized labor for those who have served the people's cause faithfully and tirelessly.

Bronxville, N. Y. CHARLES W. ERVIN

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Doris Benardete of Brooklyn, in comment on Mark Starr's letter (the *New Republic*, July 8), writes that evening-session teachers in the New York City colleges who are engaged in teaching adult-education courses are often paid as low as 25 cents an hour, and that they receive no pensions, vacation pay, or social-security status, and almost never are promoted to the rank of assistant professor. She writes, "It is obvious that the best teachers will not be lured to take such jobs. Yet the work in the evening sessions is in a large sense more important than that in the day. The students are working people. They yearn for an education and they deserve to get the best. And . . . they get the best in a sense, for many of the evening-session teachers teach their students with their whole souls. . . ."

Several of our readers have written to correct an error in our Political Roundup for July 22. We stated that Theodore Jorgenson, Democratic Farm-Labor candidate for the Senate, teaches at Northfield State Teachers' College. There is no such college; Dr. Jorgenson teaches at St. Olaf College, in Northfield, Minnesota.

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Books in Review

The War Books Go On

ON THE DAY of battle truths stalk naked. Thereafter they put on their little dress uniforms." Thus General Sir Ian Hamilton. The remark is apt as one scans General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower's official report of his stewardship as Supreme Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force in Western Europe. (Arco, paper, $1; cloth, $2.50). Polished, enameled, glittering, the long-overdue report which must be accepted as the last official word—the final dictum on the most brilliant campaign in history—lacks the homely spontaneity of "Ike's" press interviews during the war and leaves some important things unsaid.

Certainly the Eisenhower report is history. It is a step-by-step summary of operations from June 6, 1944, when the great armada spewed fighting men and machines across the Norman wall of *Festung Europa*, to the night of May 8-9, 1945, when choleric Keitel, phlegmatic Stumpf and sad-eyed von Friedeburg—chiefs of what was left of Germany's land, air and sea arms—grunted assent to the call to surrender of Tedder, Eisenhower's deputy, in Berlin in the presence of Soviet Russia's Zhukov.

On many of the highly controversial points which the grindstones of Fleet Street and the American press mutually turned to needle-sharp recriminations as the campaign progressed, Eisenhower is silent. This is unfortunate, for it tends to confirm the gossip that the report as originally drafted was objectionable to the General's bosses and had to be re-turned and planed down to its present smoothness. One suspects that some Pentagon pundit "ghosted" the final edition.

General Eisenhower makes it plain, and quite properly, who were his bosses: The Combined Chiefs of Staff sitting in Washington; that is, the representatives of our own Army and Navy and of the British Army, Navy and Air Force. Behind them again of course were Franklin D. Roosevelt (until his death) and Winston Churchill. He sums up the preliminaries to Operation Overlord—the invasion—in succinct form which emphasizes the breath-taking scope of the problem presented and the equally breath-taking size of the preparations.

Montgomery, commanding the 21st Army Group, was responsible for the final assault plan; that is, he made changes in Overlord, which were approved. One such change, unnoted in the report, was pulling in the drop area of the 6th British Airborne Division from its original bold concept, southeast of and beyond Caen, to a more cautious drop northeast and exclusive of Caen. What were the pros and cons weighed in transposing this drop?

No mention is made of another change in plan early in the game—necessitated by the fortunes of war which denied us the use of the Brittany ports—which sent the Third Army pouring over the Normandy beaches. The Normandy hedgerows as tank obstacles were not taken up in the planning either. General Bradley's immediate grasp of a quick-witted sergeant's suggestion of a steel "rhinoceros" horn on tanks to break the thick barriers was certainly not "according to plan." We learn nothing of this in the report.

The report does not clarify General Bradley's initial status. Commanding FUSAG—First United States Army Group—Bradley and his planners, who were later to become the command and driving force of 12th Army Group, had been long at work in Bryanston Square. So, though in the initial assault Bradley as an Army commander was subordinate to Montgomery, he had already been a coequal as an army group commander. Had it been possible to give this information to the British and American publics, much of the edge would have been taken off the nationalistic griping of the British press following the unveiling of the 12th Army Group on August 1, 1944.

Security then forbade such clarification; one might expect now some explanation. But the Supreme Commander contents himself with the terse remark that plans called "for eventual organization of American and British ground forces each under its own commander." Tribute to Bradley is given later. "I unhesitatingly class General Bradley's tactical operations during February and March, which witnessed the completion of the destruction of the German forces west of the Rhine, as the equal in brilliance of any that American forces have ever conducted."

SOME PEOPLE, this reviewer among them, would like to have real clarification of the final step in the Falaise-Argentan "pocket" operation. Why did Lieutenant General Sir Miles C. Dempsey, commanding the Second British Army, as quoted in the British press about August 17, pettishly scold that an American division had "gotten into the way" of his troops in closing the gap? It is manifestly unfair to the soldiers of the First and Third Armies—and of the 2nd French Armored Division—who marched and fought and died to close that "pocket" from the south, that such an allegation should still stand uncontested.

General Eisenhower's statement that "all relationships between American and British forces were smooth and effective," gilds the lily. Certainly all concerned at SHAEF found it possible for British and Americans to work in harmony. That this was so is a tremendous tribute to Eisenhower's driving power and magnetic leadership. But bickering there was—as in any family. And the pro-Montgomery faction in the British Army—though not all Britishers were Monty fans, by far—and in the British press, lost no opportunity to create friction.

Once only does the Supreme Commander touch on this. Following the Ardennes counter-offensive, he says, "The Combined Chiefs of Staff submitted for my consideration a proposal by the British Chiefs of Staff that a single ground-force commander for the whole front north of Luxemburg be appointed, to exercise, under me, operational control and coördination of all ground forces involved in the offensive which was to take us across the Rhine. This suggestion was

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H. G. WELLS
1866-1946

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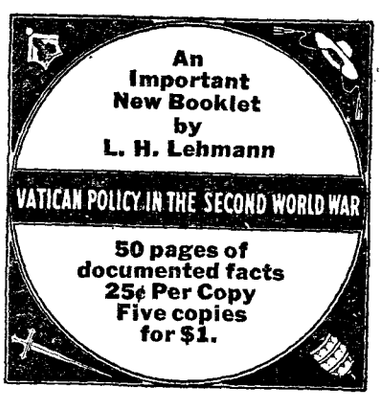
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based upon the assumption that all the remainder of the front would remain on the defensive, contrary to my plans. . . . I could not see how the appointment of a C-in-C Ground Forces over the Army Group Commanders would in any way secure better coördination of effort."

In fact, the pro-Montgomery campaign in the British press reached such proportions that on January 11, 1945, General Eisenhower sent British Lieutenant General Sir Frederick E. Morgan, his deputy chief of staff, down to the Hotel Scribe in Paris to talk off-record to the war correspondents on what the amiable "Freddy," peering quizzically over his specs, termed "this Monty racket."

Discussing the Battle of the Ardennes, General Eisenhower states: "My headquarters and 12th Army Group had felt for some time that a counter-attack through the Ardennes was a possibility." It is indeed true that the Supreme Commander took a "calculated risk" there to further his offensive plans on the north and south; his letter to the Combined Chiefs, long previous to the drive, announcing his intention of a winter offensive, so states. But if SHAEF felt that a counter-attack at that time was imminent, it disguised its belief effectively. The SHAEF weekly G-2 summary issued six days before the Nazi irruption started was almost lyric in flippant ridicule of enemy capabilities; it certainly made no mention of a possible counter-attack.

The General explains his intentions, as the "Bulge" battle progressed, to withdraw his flank in Alsace, and his reversal of plan because of the French fear that a German spurt into Strasbourg would produce a political convulsion in France. He does not mention the endless bickerings with the French, culminating in their stiff-necked retention of Stuttgart in the final phase, which considerably hampered the Seventh Army's supply problem in its drive into the "Redoubt." The important part the 94th Infantry Division, spread from Lorient to St. Nazaire, played in rebuilding the French Army forces containing the Germans in the west-coast "pockets" is unmentioned.

Casualties are not touched on, continuing the AEF policy—directed from the highest sources—to leave to each nation concerned the publication of its own casualty reports.

General Eisenhower's firm and often expressed conviction that there is no such thing as "air," "ground" or "sea" warfare, but that the entire operation is that of a three-dimensional team, runs healthily through the report in well balanced summary.

ON THE GROUND a division is a commander's basic war-making element. So the story of the "Railsplitters," the 84th Infantry Division, as told in Theodore Draper's *The Battle of Germany* (Viking, $5), is appropriately complementary to General Eisenhower's report on the "big picture." The 84th, which arrived in France November 1, 1944, was in action in less than three weeks and, without respite, fought through the Siegfried Line, in the Ardennes, the Roer-Rhine battle of the Coblenz plain and the great double envelopment of the Ruhr. Its warfare ended with its arrival on the Elbe.

Lieutenant Draper, an author in his own right, has done a very creditable job. Real thanks for the task, however, goes to the foresight of Major General A. R. Bolling, division commander, who organized his own historical section. The duty of these men, who made up part of the Public Relations staff, was to pump everybody, from general to GI, on the facts on each action, on the spot. It was history-making in the raw. The result is a historical document, the catching on film and on paper of those vital battle truths before they could rush into their "little dress uniforms."

For instance, slugged appropriately "Why Generals Get That Way," there was the time—March 2, 1945—that the division was poised in three combat teams to seize the then still intact bridge across the Rhine at Uerdingen. Three miles to go; goal—the first bridgehead over the Rhine. Everyone was keyed up for it, the task forces moved out.

And then orders from above: You're not going to Krefeld and Uerdingen, but to Homberg, 11 miles away, a place you never even considered. And Bolling had to change the direction of his already rolling columns. The incident is rebuttal from the viewpoint of the foot soldier, of that so frequently reiterated "according to plan" we find in the Supreme Commander's report. Result, to the 9th Armored Division of the First Army, instead of the Ninth Army, fell the first bridgehead, Remagen, further south, five days later. The "Railsplitters" are still pretty mad about that one.

While written primarily for the men who made the story, the book is couched in good, simple English, devoid of military jargon. Topographically perfect, adequately mapped, splendidly illustrated, *The Battle of Germany* stands in the forefront of war books published to date. Laudibly noticeable is the absence of "we-done-it" chest-pounding. There was glory enough for all, and the 84th was but one of some ninety hard-fighting American, British and French divisions in Western Europe. One criticism remains: nowhere is recorded the cost of victory, the price paid in good American blood.

JAN VALTIN's *Children of Yesterday* (Readers' Press, $3), the story of the 24th U. S. Infantry Division in the Philippines, gives the operations of the division in rapid reportorial style, compiled from the records of his and of other combat reporters in the division. It is strong meat for the casual reader, but it tells the horrors of war as they should be told—lest we forget. The pity is that only men who have fought will understand it. Valtin knows the American soldier. He knows the Nip, too, and the sometimes lovable, sometimes exasperating, always childish "little brown brother," the Filipino. He has caught the stifling sweat of the *cogon* grass—he calls it *kunai*, Aussie style—the fishy stink of the *barrios* of spindly bamboo houses, the incredibly beautiful sky and sea framing the lush growth and purplish rocks of the islands, the rasping sighs of bamboo swaying in the wind.

There can be no doubt that Valtin was there. Only an infantryman who has gone through battle could thus give the stink and taste of jungle fighting—the highs and lows of humanity in war. The invasion of Leyte, the bloody affair of Breakneck Ridge, Mindoro, the retaking of Bataan, the storming of Bottomside and of Malinta Hill on Corregidor, the purging of Mindanao—all are set down in terms of small units, of individual fighting men killing and being killed. If you want to know what an infantryman's war is like, read *Children of Yesterday*. R. ERNEST DUPUY

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Orientation

The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding, by F. S. C. Northrop. New York: The Macmillan Company. 531 pages. $6.

NEITHER the title nor the subtitle of this book indicates its subject matter. It is a discussion of the philosophical systems which are or have been basic in the different nations of the Occident and the Orient, and a plea for a synthesis of world philosophies. Professor Northrop regards all systems of philosophy, present and past, and however incisive, as being either partial or at present outmoded by scientific knowledge. He analyzes those philosophies which have been dominant in different epochs and nations, and argues that modern man must achieve "a scientifically grounded philosophy adequate to the present accumulated total of factual knowledge and to all sides of human nature." In such a philosophical system, the nature of the universe and of man would be so stated that no defensible values of any country would be excluded. The limitations which partial philosophies have placed upon the development of the human spirit, too, would be transcended, and man would come into his true estate. Then One World would be possible.

This is a large order. Professor Northrop, in carrying out his theme, must not only formulate criteria to determine what philosophical tenets are defensible, but also must characterize the fundamental insights of the great philosophies of the Occident and the Orient. He must show how each has molded the political and economic and moral behavior in the country and epoch it has dominated. And he must present his philosophic solution by means of which to synthesize these views of life. The resulting volume is a valuable and challenging contribution, and readers with the most varied interests will find something illuminating on their favorite problems. They will be rewarded, no matter how often they disagree.

Professor Northrop is at his best in analyzing the philosophies which have been dominant in such different cultures as those of Ancient Greece, Roman Catholicism, Mexico, England, Germany, the USSR, the United States and the Orient. His title is taken from the contrast he draws between philosophies of the Occident and the Orient. These philosophies, he says, present, not opposing views on a single subject, but a preoccupation with two equally primary aspects of the human spirit and of the universe. The basic philosophy both of the West and of the East, however, is partial and does less than justice to the potential richness of human experience. Western philosophy concerns itself with what the author calls the theoretic component of the world, "the theoretically designated and inferred factor in things." It deals in "concepts by postulation." This Western type of knowledge "tends to be formally and doctrinally expressed in logically developed, scientific and philosophical treatises." It concerns itself with problems which are posed by developments in the natural sciences, and it has given Western man his present control over nature.

This Occidental philosophy, however, underplays an "ultimate and irreducible part of man's nature." Professor Northrop terms this the esthetic component, and by this he means, not merely what the West means by esthetics, but

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"the purely empirical, positivistic, immediately apprehended factor in human knowledge." Oriental philosophy deals in "concepts by intuition," and values that "portion of human knowledge that can be known without recourse to inference and speculative hypotheses and deductive logic and rigorously controlled experiments." But this is what all men "have and are in themselves and in all things, prior to all theory, before all speculation, with immediacy, and hence with absolute certainty." Oriental philosophy thus stresses an irreducible human value, and Western philosophy is the poorer for its lack of recognition of this part of man's nature. The Eastern sage, squatting on his haunches in the Indian forest because he knows nothing until he experiences his values in his own consciousness, is stressing a human value which complements those the Western scholar learns when he masters a theory of mathematics or of physics from his textbooks.

Professor Northrop, in stating in abstract terms the fundamental characteristics of Eastern philosophy, is bedeviled by the inescapable difficulty of communicating, to an English-speaking audience, a set of values which Anglo-American culture barely recognizes. Readers who do not know the Orient will possibly not understand the virtues the author recognizes in Eastern philosophy. This difficulty is as nothing, however, to that posed by Professor Northrop's urgent plea for a synthesis of world philosophies. If Western readers cannot make convincing sense out of a sympathetic statement of alien values, how are they to enshrine these values in their own beliefs and live them in their daily lives? And if this is impossible, Professor Northrop's contention that a synthesis of world philosophies will cure this sick world falls to the ground.

Western cultures may, it is true, as Professor Northrop hopes, come to find a larger place for that which is immediately apprehended and which is "without recourse to inference and speculative hypotheses," but if so, it will not be because of so intellectualistic a program as he suggests. A philosophy which is at home in any culture is, as the author's own accounts show, one which serves to express the experiences culturally present in that nation or epoch. Even normative theory expresses men's experiences as they are institutionalized in the family, in the marketplace and in the state. Professor Northrop's volume, however, presents cultures as "determined" by specific philosophical theories, and he inevitably paints an over-intellectualistic picture. He summarizes, for instance, all the historical, psychological and sociological complexities of the Mexican revolutions of 1810, 1857 and 1910 by saying, "It was a philosophical theory of man and nature arrived at in the sciences of physics and epistemology . . . which determined the cultural changes and historical developments in Mexico in the nineteenth century." So, too, he shows that the United States is what it is because of John Locke. He does not raise the crucial question of why the United States espoused one aspect of Lockean philosophy and England another. If he did, he would have to take seriously "determinants" of culture other than the one he recognizes, and he could hardly say of the present state of the world: "All that is required to end the present demoralization is a philosophy . . . which is adequate to the present stage of knowledge of ourselves and this universe."

It is by no means "all that is required." If a world philosophy, conceived in the spirit Professor Northrop indicates in his discussion, ever did become basic on this globe, it would be an end product of a state of international spiritual health. The cause of that health would still lie elsewhere. Men then, as always, would espouse ideals in philosophy which had come to be appropriate and urgent in their social experience in the family and in their economic, esthetic and political life.

RUTH BENEDICT

Hiroshima

Hiroshima, by John Hersey. The New Yorker Magazine: August 31, 1946. 68 pages. 15 cents.

BY NOW, you have doubtless heard that last week's *New Yorker* devoted its entire space to one subject for the first time in the history of that periodical. The subject is the atomic bombing of Hiroshima; the author is John Hersey; and we understand the magazine sold out on most newsstands within a few hours of its appearance. If so, the public showed discernment. Hersey's piece is certainly one of the great classics of the war; if it is eligible for a Pulitzer Prize and doesn't get it, the judges should go and take a Rorschach.

Everyone has read the statistics on what happened at Hiroshima (statistics which Hersey says gravely underestimated the actual damage). But figures have no grappling hooks with which to take hold of dim human imagination. With the simplicity of genius, this author had the idea of doing what many other journalists should have thought of long ago: he has reduced the story of the bombing to its effect on the lives of six people in Hiroshima, and their relatives and friends: Miss Toshiko Sasaki, a clerk in the East Asia Tin Works; Dr. Masakazu Fujii, a physician; Mrs. Hatsuyo Nakamura, impoverished widow of a tailor killed in battle; Father Wilhelm Kleinsorge, a German missionary priest; Dr. Terufumi Sasaki; and the Reverend Mr. Kiyoshi Tanimoto, pastor of a Japanese Methodist Church.

Hersey, with indefatigable research, and the great abilities demonstrated in his earlier war books, *Into the Valley* and *A Bell for Adano*, has sorted out the personal experiences of each of these people and of those with whom they were in close contact during and after the bombing. In a series of vignettes, he tells where each was at 15 minutes past 8 A. M. on August 6, 1945, when the bomb went off, and what happened to them during the minutes, hours, days and weeks thereafter. He moves from one personal narrative to another so that the time sequence of all six stories is carried forward simultaneously. The general effect is a little like that of Thornton Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*; except that Hersey's story is true and indescribably tragic, not only for Hiroshima but for the world which must live henceforth under the shadow of the threat of more bombings of the same character, though far more serious since, as he reports, the Hiroshima bomb was a little one, of uranium, and today we can make bigger, plutonium ones.

Because the reviewer is not entitled to steal the technique of the reviewed, we must fall back upon the general summary which Hersey wisely rejected. More than two-thirds

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of the houses of Hiroshima were totally destroyed; almost one-third of the inhabitants were killed and an equal number gravely injured. Many thousands were pinned down alive in collapsed houses (Hersey says that contrary to the common impression, Japanese houses are of stronger construction in many particulars than American ones) and burned alive in the great fire which swept through the city. Thousands of the walking wounded, or the unhurt, took refuge in public parks, where a large proportion subsequently died. In a park near a river bank, the overcrowding was so great that many were pushed off into the water and drowned. Scores of the wounded lay on tidal flats and were drowned when the tide came in. Weeks and months after the bomb explosion, seemingly uninjured people continued to die of radiation sickness.

Hersey does no editorializing, passes no judgments; he does not try to say whether the atomic bombing of Japan was justified, or to compare its results with, for instance, the sack of Nanking. He just tells the story. If we could be sure the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs were the last ever to fall on an inhabited place, we could read it as we read of the eruptions of Krakatoa and Mt. Pelee. It is the grim conviction so many of us feel that what happened in Japan may be a foretaste of what is in store for many others, including ourselves, that gives Hersey's words their terrible import. BRUCE BLIVEN

A Reader's List

Planning No. 253. Manpower Stocktaking (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the New Republic, *25 cents).* PEP emphasizes the fact that a manpower policy for full employment must fulfill two basic needs: industrial demand for the right worker and individual demand for the right job. The editors do not deny the importance of knowing the size of the working force and its occupational distribution. But such information, they say, is not enough; we must also know how effective the working force will be in action. And that is a question of intelligence, training, skill, education and leadership. A sound manpower policy should not overlook those who in other circumstances might have obtained professional training. Nor can it afford to be separated from general economic policy. In essence, the problem is to give reality to the economists' fiction—a fluid labor force.

Off to a Good Start: A Handbook for Modern Parents, by Irma Simonton Black (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50). Mrs. Black has written an interesting and non-technical book concerning the problems of child growth and behavior, the child's relationship to his family, to other people, his intellectual growth and self-expression. The book contains no new ideas as such, but its simple style and its logical approach make it safe to follow. Especially interesting is the last section, which deals with new experiences, nursery and progressive schools and creative play.

Lectures on Psychoanalytic Psychiatry, by A. A. Brill, M.D. (Knopf, $3). Dr. Brill, who is credited with introducing psychoanalysis to this country, presents a course of 10 lectures given by him to psychiatrists over a period of 15 years. In them he attempts to describe the development of Freud's concepts from 1893 to 1939. The lectures make easy reading; they are illumined by excerpts from case studies and enlivened by the personal experience of the lecturer. They do not, however, give a rounded picture of the development of psychoanalysis. The recent revisions of Freud, which emphasize the importance of cultural factors on personality development, are not even mentioned. The book retains all of the disadvantages of the half-organized, discursive lecture (it apparently was not possible to list the lecture subjects for a table of contents), and none of its advantages.

Mark Twain, edited by Bernard De Voto (Viking, $2). Mr. De Voto long ago staked out his claim to Mark Twain and has conducted a vigorous and often intemperate campaign for many years against prior-lien-holders and new trespassers. So it is a pleasant surprise to find the introduction to this volume in the admirable Viking Portable Library a rounded and balanced estimate of Mark Twain, his America and his work. The selections, including *Huckleberry Finn* and *The Mysterious Stranger* complete, and generous passages from his other writings, provide the reader with a large part of the Mark Twain that is still worth reading.

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CONTENTS

Editorials

One Year of Peace 275
The OPA and the Black Market 279

General Articles

The Myth of Labor's Slow-Down . . . . . Nathan Robertson 282
Yugoslavia Today . . . . Bogdan Raditsa 284
Colorado: Political Hotfoot? . . . . . Ralph G. Martin 287
Report on Russia
VI. Does America Want Coöperation? . . . . . Earl Browder 289
Southern Liberal . . . . Thomas Sancton 292
Iverstown Slaughter . . . Manny Farber 293
A Ticker on Every Breakfast Table . . . . . Thomas Whiteside 293
The Bandwagon 295

Correspondence 295

Books in Review

The War Books Go On . . R. Ernest Dupuy 296
Orientation . . . . . Ruth Benedict 299
Hiroshima . . . . . Bruce Bliven 300
A Reader's List 301
Crime and Punishment . . . . . E. H. 302

New Republic News 302

Crime and Punishment

Trouble Follows Me, by Kenneth Millar (Dodd, Mead, $2). Ensign Sam Drake, stateside-bound on furlough, breaks his trip at Honolulu, where reports of important information leaks to the Japs are rife. At an officers' club dance that night one of the two American girls who run a record show for the troops is found hanged. Suicide or murder? That is the query Sam brings back to the States and his curiosity involves him in some pretty fancy shenanigans with a group of American traitors. Literate and exciting.

Addendum. Several late-summer items make pleasant reading: in *The Cinnamon Murder*, by Frances Crane (Random House, $2), the Pat Abbotts get mixed up in some very unsavory doings of New York's social set; while in Ruth Fenisong's *Desperate Cure* (Crime Club, $2), the murder of one of young Dr. Joanne Carr's patients brings her to grips with a clever and calculating killer. *The Other Passenger*, a collection of sinister stories by John Keir Cross (Lippincott, $2.75), is an aggravating book: Mr. Cross has so much ability it's hard to understand why so many of these tales miss fire. However, "Couleur de Rose" is a knockout. E. H.

New Republic News

NR circulation reached an all-time high during the first six months of 1946, according to the latest Audit Bureau of Circulation report. Looking through the statistics, we find that for every *NR* reader who buys his copy at the newsstands, four subscribe and get them by mail. Eighteen percent of *NR* readers live in New York State. California is second, with almost 11 percent, and Illinois is third, with eight percent. Next in order among the states are Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Michigan and Ohio. Struggling away in the rear in a tie for last are Wyoming and Nevada.

• • •

In order to find out more about you people who make up the *NR* circle, a questionnaire was recently sent to a statistical sample of readers. Returns are now coming in. The following results are based only on the early returns, almost all of which are from readers in the New York area. Here is what they have told us about themselves:

More than one half are professional people.

Nine-tenths have been to college; 70 percent have been graduated from college, and 50 percent hold graduate degrees.

The largest age group is from 21-30, the next largest 31-40; about 60 percent are married, and more than 60 percent are men.

Almost 70 percent plan to travel during the next year; about 30 percent are going abroad, and more will travel by plane than in any other way. France and England are the countries which the greatest number have made plans to visit.

They listen to the radio on the average of one hour a day and go to the movies between once a month and once a week.

There are a lot of optimists in the group, too, for a good percentage is planning to buy cars during the next 12 months.

• • •

Thomas Whiteside served with the War Communications Research Project at the Library of Congress in 1940-41. During the war he was head of the OWI's Foreign News Section in the New York office. He has worked for the Toronto *Star* and *Newsweek*, and is now free-lancing.

R. Ernest Dupuy has recently been retired from the United States Army as a colonel. He served in both world wars, in combat and in public relations. In this war he was SHAEF public-relations officer, and was acting director of the War Department Bureau of Public Relations after the European war ended. Before joining the Army he was a newspaperman and has written articles and fiction.

Ruth Benedict has been on leave of absence from the Department of Anthropology at Columbia for three years, serving with the OWI. Houghton Mifflin will publish her book, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*, this fall.

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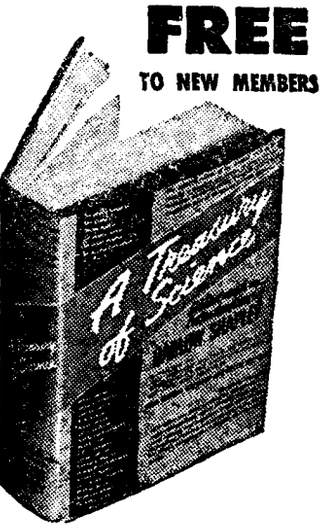

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